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EDUCATION IN
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

• IN THE CURRICULUM •
• IN A MULTI-GROUP SOCIETY •
• INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS •

PHILLIPS BRADLEY • H. GORDON HULLFISH • GEORGE GUERNSEY
CELIA STENDLER • W. O. STANLEY • MARGARET DAGEN • J. W. HANSON

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We Need Industrial Relations Education
AN EDITORIAL

MAGAZINE OF THE AMERICAN EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

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PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

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WE NEED INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS EDUCATION

—AN EDITORIAL

The years in which we live have been called the years of potential abundance and hope. They have been called the years of moral depletion and despair. By whatever words we call these years, one thing we all agree upon—they are critical years in the history of Western man and indeed of all mankind. They are replete with profound social tensions which somehow must be resolved if social sanity is to be restored. The future will be shaped by the way these tensions are worked out.

They can be reduced to three, namely, 1) the conflict over how the industrial system is to be controlled and the ends it is to serve; 2) the conflict over the relation the races of the world are to bear to one another—whether or not equality is to become a social reality; 3) the conflict over the nature of super-national government and its function in the organization and control of the economic, political, educational, martial, and social activities of the peoples of the world. They constitute the fundamental social problems of this century.

Of course, these tensions are not independent of one another. In fact they are so closely interrelated that an intensification of one will heighten the others. We have only to witness the relation of industrial unrest to political forces and events in France, Italy, England, and the United States to see how inextricably these tensions are interlaced.

The first of these issues focusses in the problems of labor and industrial relations. From any standpoint, domestic or international, this aspect of our social maladjustment is extremely important. On its peaceful resolution rests our hopes of resolving in like manner the conflicts among races and nations. For, while the resolution of the problems of labor and industrial relations will not automatically resolve the other major tensions of society, there is little hope that we can exercise much influence in the resolution of these tensions unless we can work out a satisfactory basis for controlling our productive system. We must have domestic peace in order to work peacefully with others.

There are few things more important in the life of a people than the means by which they make a living. When these means and the ways they are organized and controlled change, the entire social system is affected. Men must then develop new ideas and new attitudes as well as new social structures and processes in order to maintain the degree of cultural integration essential to social and personal sanity.

We now live in a period in which the corporate ownership and management of industrial property has largely replaced individual ownership and control. The consequences of this collectivization have been felt in all aspects of society—home, government, community life, economic insititutions and practices, labor organizations, and what-not. It has led, for example, to the collectivization of labor to match corporate power. The problems of management and labor cannot be understood without reference to this setting and to the problems of industrial control inherent in it.

The school cannot resolve these tensions. It is only one of many social forces which may ultimately bring about a new social integration. Nevertheless, the school can help to reduce these tensions by making it possible for youth and adults to understand the conflicting social forces and the strategies and techniques by which a new social equilibrium may be created. But we should not delude ourselves. There is no easy way out of these eventful years. There is no way of escaping the human misery which the resolution of these tensions will entail, no way of resolving these profound cleavages among men without a long period of bitter contest. All we can hope for is that our efforts may help to confine the struggle to peaceful means.

Speaking specifically of labor and industrial relations, if the schools are to contribute to the ultimate solution of this fundamental social problem, they must abandon the tendency to blame either labor or management. Blame has no place in our schools, nor in any quarter where men are trying to understand and to work things out together. For to blame is to act irrationally. What is required is a careful analysis of the conditions and issues over which labor and management are divided as well as the psychological and social forces which drive both labor and management to act as they do. These issues and forces are not always what they appear to be on the surface. They are deep and fundamental, involving such questions as the distribution of power in industrial control and the ultimate purposes of production. Once the issues and forces have been ascertained both youth and adults are in a better position to consider probable solutions to the basic questions.

And let us be clear on another point. Neither the teacher, nor the teaching profession, has any right to side with either labor or management per se. It is our obligation to be on the side of human needs as expressed in the democratic ideals. Neither labor nor management is always for these ideals. It is our obligation to support management when its proposals strengthen democracy and to part company with management when it forsakes democracy. For the same reason and to the same extent we are bound to the support of labor.

However, there is a prior task and that is to increase the time now devoted to the study of the problems of labor and industrial relations. There is now little attention given to these problems anywhere in the schol curriculum; perhaps even less study of them than was given to the problems of inter-cultural relations a decade ago. The elementary school is doing practically nothing to help children understand our industrial activities, as the article by Dr. Stendler in this number clearly indicates. With few outstanding exceptions, what little attention is given to labor and industrial relations in the high school is largely consumed in an unrealistic and historical study of the problems of labor. The amount of adult education along these lines attributable to the public schools is hardly enough to mention.

The foregoing analysis clearly indicates the need for a crusade comparable to that which did so much in this decade to focus the attention of the teaching profession upon inter-cultural education, a crusade to make the study of the problems of labor and industrial relations a permanent and significant part of the public school curriculum. There are indeed few problem-areas that affect so desperately so many.

—B. Othanel Smith

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LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS IN THE CURRICULUM

by PHILLIPS BRADLEY

The study of labor-management relations has only recently begun to develop in the colleges and universities. Institutes and schools of labor and industrial relations have arisen in increasing numbers during the last ten years. Comparable developments in the high schools are now getting underway. This timely article by the Director of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, presents the need and some aspects of a program of instruction in the field of labor management relations for the high school.

Almost eighty percent of our future citizens attend high school from one to four years. The G.I. bill and other economic and social factors have substantially increased the proportion of college students in the population. The general educational level in the American community, now or in the foreseeable future, is not, however, one which suggests a broad background of information on the part of those who must make democracy effective—the voters. The nature of the problems on which they must make decisions today are obviously more complex than they were even a half century ago. Some access to the understanding of these problems has become, therefore, a major responsibility of our education system from the elementary school to the university.

WHY STUDY LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

Among the problems confronting us today in the western world, in fact in the entire world community with only less immediate urgency, two seem of supreme, indeed critical, importance. One is whether we can organize a world government which will be effective in limiting and ultimately eliminating international war. The other is whether we can organize the production and distribution of goods and services to provide internal peace (against industrial civil war) and security (psychological as well as material). That these two problems confronting the peoples of every western nation and of every industrialized country are intimately related to each other needs no argument here.

If this analysis is at all correct, then our schools may well give increased attention to the major elements of domestic and international peace. These two issues, which will dominate the politics of the western world and of the world community in the years ahead, are clearly a concern of the educator at every level of a national educational system. Those whose ideologies are anti-democratic recognize the importance of the schools in conditioning their peoples to ideas and ways of action. Their interest in the viewpoints and actions of their students, as affected by their schooling, has been made inescapably and tragically clear over the past quarter century. That the schools can be an effective instrument for developing attitudes and practices has been demonstrated often enough, here and abroad, to justify the belief that we can achieve democratic no less than anti-democratic objectives.

If our schools emphasize particular attitudes and practices in their curricular and extra-curricular activities, they will project those attitudes and practices into the community around them and in the responses of their students as adults. In the achievement of democratic solutions to these two most urgent problems confronting us, therefore, the schools can play an important role by equipping their students with the essential intellectual and moral tools for resolving them. On the one hand they can increase and broaden the knowledge of the future electorate about the various and subtle factors involved. On the other, they can enhance their students' insight into the results of alternative solutions resulting from what are so often today antagonistic premises as to the nature and destiny of man and of society.

It would be interesting and useful to trace out the inter-action of these two major problems—war and labor-management relations (in their broadest sense)—in the domestic as in the international community. That is, however, the business of the teacher concerned to give his or her students a unified view of the world in which they live and which they will soon be called on to direct. If one segment of the whole, one element in the dual aspect of the citizen's responsibility (domestic and international), is selected for analysis here, it is only for convenience. In order to illustrate some of their common though separable connotations, explicit and implicit, for the high school curriculum, a beginning can be made with the domestic aspect: labor-management relations. Constructing an effective school program dealing with one or both of these problems will certainly involve more than the high school; it will include the elementary and the adult school as well. It is however, at the high-school level that the next important steps in curriculum development may be expected and are, indeed, already taking place.

If we ask ourselves why we are concerned so deeply with the labor-management relations in the schools,

the answer seems too obvious to require elaboration. Most high school students, an overwhelming proportion in industrial cities, come from the homes of workers. They are in direct and continuous touch with the day-to-day aspects and results of these relations. Many of them also will already have had considerable work experience. The "subject", as an area of study, is rooted in the interest-learning axis of educational thought. These relations appear, moreover, as a major item of the news; often nowadays they are headline news. Not infrequently, they impinge directly on the internal operation and administration of the school itself. Few subjects lend themselves so directly to analysis from experience, direct or vicarious, of the students most of whom will in fact soon become workers themselves. One major question is, therefore, how to convert this immediate experience and interest into the analytical approach of a curriculum.

HOW TO STUDY THE PROBLEMS

One approach to the study of labor-management relations can be built on the experience of the students themselves. Starting from local and immediate experience, the history and current aspects of these relations in the local community can become the starting-point for a living analysis of broader issues, some of which may have no direct local bearing. All can, however, be brought into the classroom, once the frontiers of the local scene have been explored. Whether or not this approach is used as a launching device, any study of these relations need never neglect their local aspects as an integral part of classroom activities.

Another approach is, obviously, through the use of current events as the starting-point. The national and international scene is now pretty close to the American home. A strike, for instance, in a key industry ilke coal sooner or later affects almost every family in the community. Current events of a less startling character can, of course, be utilized. In the course of a few weeks, almost all the major issues in labor-management relations can be distilled from the news. If a current-events approach is adopted, effective organization, not only of materials and data but of ideas, will require real art in the teaching process.

More traditional approaches, through established courses in economics, problems of democracy, civics, or sociology, offer many opportunities for experimentation and pioneering. In economics, for instance, the present trend toward analyzing its abstractions and details through a study of the sources and distribution of the national income provides a direct channel for discussing practically every aspect of employer-worker relations. Specialized units in existing courses or new courses in the field can be constructed which will not ignore local aspects or current events while organizing alloted time more formally.

Several other elements in the question of how to approach the study of labor-management relations in the schools may be noted. Most important of these perhaps is the question of which levels in the curriculum this study of labor-management relations should be offered. Current experience indicates that it fits most pertinently into the curriculum at the eleventh or twelfth grade level. Here students have a more adequate background of training and perhaps indirect experience for understanding the problems involved. They are about to embark on the direct experience which they are analyzing in the classroom. The subject fits the social-studies curriculum most conveniently at this point. All this is true and more than justifies giving a substantial segment of a relevant senior-year high-school course in the junior and senior year to the formal study of labor-management relations.

Two points may, however, be raised. First, are the social studies alone concerned with broadening understanding and deepening insight about these relations? Second, do labor-management relations seem to fit logically into the curriculum at other levels?

As to the first, various experiments already undertaken in some schools demonstrate that other subjects contribute uniquely to an understanding of social-studies problems. English, especially in classes in literature, provides a fruitful way of enhancing students' awareness of social and economic problems. The ethical and emotional nuances which so often determine the quality of outcomes in areas of dynamic change or controversy are frequently better understood and portrayed by the poet and prophet than by the analyst. The social-studies teacher can well afford to work closely with his or her collegaue in English in gearing the analysis of problems to their portrayal in American and English literature. Classes in speaking and writing English effectively are, moreover, helpful from the vocational standpoint. Many surveys of what personnel managers think are the more important "tool" subjects rank both these subjects near the top of the list; early superiority here may earmark the young worker for potential advancement.

The various arts, including music, may also serve as aids to the formal study of labor-management relations. They are, of course, usable directly in social-studies classrooms (e.g., for developing posters and charts, or for exploring workers' yearnings as expressed in song). Both color and music are, moreover increasingly utilized in industry as factors in plant safety, convenience and attractiveness. In the present limited and still experimental development of these fields in industry, it may not be altogether illusory to consider these "subjects" as areas for training sub-professional workers at the high school level.

Other subjects suggest themselves easily as ancillary to any broadly-conceived study of labor-management relations. Without attempting to review them, the approach of the social-studies teacher to this field requires a willingness to integrate all the relevant "subjects". Local conditions and situations inside the school and out, will vary; no precise or uniform pattern can or needs to be laid down. If the objective of enriching the students' insight as well as increasing their knowledge and understanding is kept in mind, the necessary cooperative relations within the total curriculum can be worked out.

WHO SHOULD STUDY LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS?

If the high school curriculum is a logical starting-point for developing the formal study of labor-management relations, are there other levels in our public school system at which they should also be considered? At least two may be noted: the elementary and the vocational school. It is at the elementary rather than at the secondary school age-level that many attitude-patterns are most formatively affected by the educational process. If we are concerned in the schools with attitudes and not alone with information, then it is clear that so dynamic and vital an area of attitude-formation and response deserves early consideration. Some teachers advocate preliminary study of selected aspects of labor-management relations as early as the 5th or 6th and certainly in the 7th or 8th grades. The approach and treatment will obviously be quite different and the range and character of the questions brought into focus necessarily more limited. If, however, we are to achieve later on the objectives of increasing understanding and insight as well as information, the pattern of ideas and attitudes developed in the earlier grades will have substantial utility.

Many high school students, knowing that they are going into industry, prefer a vocational curriculum. Still others, then or later, pursue an apprentice-training program through the vocational schools. Both these groups are, by the very nature of their occupational goals, in a position to utilize both information and insight as to labor-management relations on the job. The vocational schools thus have a dual opportunity. They can provide a more adequate background in the field while their students are still "in school". They can also develop this background for their older out-of-school students who return for apprenticeship courses.

Most "related-training" programs do not today offer or leave room for even a cursory study of labor-management relations. Despite the admitted difficulties—traditionalism, stereotyped requirements, pressure of time for essential technical subjects—however, there is a real opportunity here to improve job-training directly. These students are the future leaders (at least potentially) of the union movement. Providing them with a more adequate background for their functions and responsibilities in the practical conduct of labor-management relations is no small opportunity for the nation's schools.

The emergence of two further levels of public education opens new vistas for nearly all subjects in the curricula of elementary and secondary schools. One is the technical institute or junior college; the other is the "community college" for adults. The first offers an advanced opportunity to those seeking both cultural and vocational training. Here, the relevance of studying labor-management relations is obvious. A more intensive analysis of these relations by our present and future citizens and workers becomes an integral element from not only the job but the civic viewpoint.

That adults are concerned with labor-management relations, many in their occupations, all in their functions as citizens of a democracy, is no less obvious. As our public schools will increasingly become community centers of adult education, formal and informal courses and conferences for interested citizens and professionally employed representatives of industry and labor will prove an important element in a curriculum for adults.

WHAT TO STUDY

It is unnecessary here to examine the subject of labor and industrial relations in detail. A few objectives and procedures may be suggested for future analysis and action by teachers and school administrators.

Among attainable objectives is certainly the development in students, future citizens, workers, and employers—of an attitude of open-mindedness toward the controversial aspects of and issues in labor-management relations. The subject of labor and industrial relations itself does not of course carry the only responsibility for, nor is it the only source of, such an attitude. Study of its various facets will certainly, however, accelerate the application of such an attitude toward issues and controversies as they arise. It is only so that genuinely democratic habits of thought and action can be built into the thinking and habits of our future citizens.

A second objective is no less clearly to provide a more adequate background of information about labor-management relations. How industry is organized and what the problems and objectives of management are; why unions have come into existence and what their history, organization, tactics, and purposes are; what makes workers respond to their varying work situations as they do; what collective bargaining is and how it works; why the public is concerned with the way labor and management act to-

ward each other and what rules of the game we have established through government—these are only a few of the many facets of the field as a whole. These five broad aspects can, however, be brought together, perhaps with varying emphasis to fit the needs and interests of the particular community, to construct an effective introduction to information, understanding, and insight. Again, only out of these three elements can an effective will to cooperate be developed.

What goes on in the classroom (or during the class hour) is only part of what may well be included in a unit or course on labor-management relations. Classroom activities of all kinds are a no less essential element in effective procedure than a well-designed outline and stimulating reading. Their range and character are limited only by the resources of the community and the imaginative approach of the teacher. They may run from the special library report or the role-playing of a legislative hearing or a collective-bargaining session through class debates and round-table discussions to field visits to plant and union offices or visits to the class of representatives of labor and management. However and wherever these elements of reality are brought into the unit or course, they may well leave even more indelible impressions of the vitality and significance of the subject than will its more formal presentation.

This brief outline of some of the objectives, content, and procedures for the broader study of labor-management relations in our schools must, of course, be implemented in practice by the action of teachers and school administrators. To avoid the subject altogether because it involves areas of controversy (public and private) is to ignore the fact that, whether recognized in the curriculum or not, it will be debated outside—in the home and in neighborhood groups. By leaving it outside the school door, the chances that ignorance and prejudice will become the active ingredients of attitude and action will be by so much the greater. By taking it in and subjecting it to the discipline of honest treatment by the teacher, ignorance and prejudice may be—at least diluted, at best refined into democratic attitudes and practices. Only as we learn to use the tools of democracy, frank analysis and open discussion of debatable issues, can we hope to make our own form of democratic life useable for ourselves or attractive to the world. The very survival of our free industrial system which holds such great hope for a world torn by alien ideologies born of despair that freedom is worth having or achieving, depends, indeed, on learning to use this skill. In no area of our domestic life is that skill so important today as in the whole range of labor-management relations.

WHAT ABOUT INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL?

by **CELIA BURNS STENDLER**

What is now being taught about labor and industrial relations in the elementary school? Many of us would be inclined to answer: "Nothing". This article points out that attitudes toward labor are being shaped whether we recognize it or not and that a deliberate effort to give attention to this aspect of the social studies in the elementary school is sorely needed. The author is an Assistant Professor, College of Education, University of Illinois.

The area of labor and industrial relations is a tremendously important one; it impinges on the daily lives of all of us in countless ways. It is an area which should be of vital concern to every elementary teacher, yet it is almost completely neglected in curriculum planning. Many teachers would argue that it does not belong in the elementary school, that only youth of high school age is mature enough for the complexities involved in the study of labor problems. But attitudes toward labor are already shaped by the home and the elementary school before the individual reaches the high school. The elementary school may not be dealing with the problem directly, but by omission or by indirection it is affecting the attitudes of its children. Some of the ways in which this is done are described below.

LABOR AND MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS IGNORED

Perhaps the most common procedure for dealing with labor and industrial relations in the elementary school is to omit any systematic study of the area. This practice starts in the primary grades where through a study of community helpers a phoney and romantic picture of certain workers is presented. The "community helpers", who typically include the fire-

man, the postman, the milkman and the policeman, are kind and good people whose sole interest in life is helping the children of America. Songs are sung about them, their portraits painted by the children grace the walls of primary classrooms, their places of business are visited by eager youngsters every year. Industrial workers, on the other hand, although they are the fathers and mothers of many more children in our classrooms, are not included in the curriculum. Even where a local industry is studied, as it frequently is in third grade classrooms, the emphasis in such a study is on process rather than people. In learning about the canning industry, for example, children find out what happens to tomatoes when they first enter the factory; they memorize each step in the processing of tomatoes, but they do not find out what happens to the cook if he is scalded, or why an election is called at the plant, or even whether the plant is organized.

A different kind of omission is to be found in some elementary classrooms where current events periods are a regular part of the daily schedule. During this period it is not uncommon to hear clippings on strikes or other aspects of labor relations read or reported on by the children. All too frequently there is no discussion of the article, no attempt made to clarify issues or to evaluate the point of view expressed in the clipping.

It might be argued that by these sins of omission, the elementary school is not affecting the attitudes of its children; that because of its neutrality it cannot be held responsible for opinions children develop while going through the elementary school. However, it should be pointed out that children's opinions are being molded by radio, movies, press and the home, and that where the school does *nothing* of a positive nature, then children are inevitably left with the impression that the anti-labor sentiments expressed elsewhere are the true ones. In other words, where teachers do nothing in the way of exploring issues, the status quo, which is likely to be anti-labor, is being supported.

BIASED TEACHERS

While sins of omission are serious, even worse is the practice some teachers employ of making remarks disparaging to labor. Many of these remarks are made without intent; many teachers themselves have unconsciously absorbed anti-labor attitudes and when they encourage children to believe that prices are high because the unions are forcing wages up, they do so because they themselves are not informed about current events.

It might also be mentioned that there are some teachers who go farther in building adverse attitudes toward labor. Since the bulk of our teachers come from the lower-middle class, many in their struggle for status reject the working class and may reflect this rejection in the classroom. Witness the teacher who says, "You talk like a ditchdigger" or the teacher who remarks, "You look as dirty as a common, ordinary laborer." Such teachers are probably the most dangerous of all in elementary school classrooms.

ARE THE PROBLEMS TOO COMPLEX?

Despite the importance of the area of labor and industrial relations, despite the fact that the elementary school is already helping to shape attitudes in this area, there are those as has already been indicated, who would raise their eyebrows in horror at the notion that there should be a positive program for teaching labor and industrial relations in the elementary school. These problems are too complex, they would argue; elementary school children will only become confused and will deal with them very superficially. However, elementary school children are already dealing with very complex problems. Third graders blithely embark on a study of the American Indian; fourth graders undertake an investigation of the social structure of ancient Greece, while fifth graders do not balk at the complexities of feudalism in the Middle Ages. Yet problems of labor and industrial relations with which the children of millions of workers have had first hand experience are considered too complex for the elementary school curriculum. The real reason for their exclusion may lie deeper; it may be that such topics are neglected because they are controversial and hence not safe. It is only safe to study subjects like ancient Greece because supposedly we have the answers.

WHAT TO STUDY ABOUT LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

But if one is committed to the notion that labor and industrial relations constitute an important area for study in the elementary school, then the question arises of what to study and when. To answer this question courageous and experimentally-minded teachers are needed who will try out materials and methods to see what children are ready for at different grade levels. No one wants first grade children to evaluate the Taft-Hartley law, but what first grade children, or children from any grade, can deal with competently is an important problem which should receive attention.

Materials for elementary school children in the area of labor and industrial relations might include many different kinds. Instead of reading of the fabulous adventures of Peter's family in which the father, a shoe clerk, buys a house which would cost $20,000 on today's market and hires a maid to help run the house, primary children in their study of family life and community helpers might read of Mary's father who works on a road gang, or Harry's father who is a coal miner, or Sam's father who loads Coco-Cola trucks, or Rosie's father who works on a conveyor

belt, or Mary's mother who is employed in a garment factory. Such materials could be used to build positive attitudes toward many different kinds of workers.

A program for labor and industrial relations in the elementary school might also include attention to people as well as to process. Fifth and sixth graders, for example, might find out if and how workers in the local paper mill are organized, what the difference is between the CIO and the AF of L, what the terms open shop, closed shop and union shop mean. Material of this kind is factual, not controversial; it is necessary for the intelligent discussion of labor problems. How far down in the grades these topics should be included would have to be determined experimentally.

But it is difficult, when an area as contemporary as labor and industrial relations is studied, to limit children to factual knowledge. When one gets beyond mere definition of terms, when the advisability of a closed shop, for example, is discussed, one is dealing with controversial issues and not with factual. Here the elementary teacher is faced with the same dilemma teachers at all levels face in dealing with such problems. Two possible courses of action are open: (1) the teacher can help children discover the reasons unions give for supporting the closed shop together with objections to it, leaving the children to make a choice as to which side they will support after both sides have been presented; or (2) help children discover varying points of view with regard to the closed shop, but also help them evaluate both arguments and practice in terms of democratic values. It would seem to the writer that the second alternative is sounder; elementary school children are in the process of building up value systems and need guidance in the process.

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THEY LEARN ABOUT LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

by **MARGARET WOLF DAGEN**

✦ ✦ ✦

This is a realistic discussion of how labor-management relations have been explored in a high school social studies class. The teacher will find here many fruitful suggestions for developing the study of this greatly neglected area of human relations in American society. The author is Teacher, Clayton High School, Clayton, Missouri, and Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

Social studies teachers have been faced, in recent years, with an increasing number of questions about the labor-management issue. This should not be surprising, for so has the entire nation. The space given this issue in newspapers, magazines and radio, as well as in an increasing number of university curricula, has brought labor-management relations into focus as one of our fundamental domestic problems. It is natural, therefore, that students on all levels raise questions and carry on discussions, for they hear such a variety of opinions outside the classroom. How, then, are public high schools to contribute to the student's knowledge about these issues? How can teachers include objective information in social studies courses? How can classroom discussion be based on fact, rather than partisan bias? Such study is so important to an understanding of how our industrial society works and how our democratic way of life can be improved and strengthened that it deserves the careful attention and thoughtful scrutiny of school men and women throughout the country.

One high school in a suburb (Clayton) of a midwestern industrial city (St. Louis, Missouri) has undertaken to develop a one-semester Senior course in labor-management problems. The following description of some of the experiences in conducting this course may be of interest to teachers and administrators in other schools. This experiment is probably the most inclusive and intensive yet undertaken at the high school level, but the results can be utilized as well by other school systems in planning more limited programs. If a whole semester cannot be used at once for such a course, shorter periods may and should be allotted.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

A brief community survey or "case study" should be made by the teacher handling such a course. This can be done through interview (community leaders, parents, other teachers, etc.); reading of local Chamber of Commerce, labor union, social research studies and similar materials available about the community; and direct observation. The economic and social nature of the community should be taken into account. Let us look for a moment at Clayton, Missouri, where this course was given. It is an upper-middle-class suburban community. Students report their family employment chiefly in three brackets: executives in corporations; ownership of small businesses; professional. The shopping areas show an obvious catering to these groups. The residences are well-kept, often rather luxurious, and the area is considered highly desirable. It is predominately native-born white, almost evenly divided between Christians and Jews. The school itself is all white. Over seventy per cent

of the students go on to college. These are but a few samples of the type of factual background which will help the teacher to develop an intelligent understanding of the nature of the community and the relevancy of problems to be dealt with in the classroom.

It is wise to interpret such a new course to the community and the school (both teachers and students). This can be done through the PTA, through school advisors, at faculty meetings, at large or small student meetings. Every opportunity must be taken to explain and to enlist the interest and understanding of the community. Good community relations will lend great help in securing business and labor reports for classroom uses. Interesting members of the community in cooperating with such things as field trips, securing speakers, and arranging programs will add to the students' knowledge of the community, its facilities and its problems. It was my experience that many people were extremely gratified to learn that such a course was being offered in the high school, and there were many offers to help in some of the ways mentioned.

The course was called "Social Economics". There are many other possibilities for a title for such a course—Industrial and Labor Relations; Labor-Management Problems; Industrial Economics; Labor Economics; Modern Industrial Problems. The question of choice of text will be dealt with later in the article.

Objectives for the course should be developed in advance by conferences between the teacher and the school administration. Information collected in student interviews should be taken into account, particularly with regard to students' future plans. While the particular community and its problems must be understood and given due consideration, at no time in the course should the larger scope be neglected.

EXPERIENCE IS THE BEST TEACHER

One of the first discoveries made in introducing this course was the tremendous amount of misunderstanding of the subject by the students and their lack of much factual knowledge of it. This naturally varied greatly from student to student, depending as it did, not on book knowledge alone, but on exposure at home to the issues involved. (Tests could be devised to measure familiarity with the field, and cover such things as the special vocabulary of labor-management relations, general current events, specific current events directly or indirectly connected with the field.) As the course progressed and objective viewpoints and factual material were introduced, it was found that the areas of variance could be narrowed. By the end of the course, although there was no general agreement (and no attempt was made during the course to bring this about), there was at least some understanding of the nature and value of the available materials and a better ability to judge them objectively.

MATERIALS OF INSTRUCTION

It was my experience that such a course should be taught with a text. Unfortunately, most social studies texts contain only limited sections on labor-management problems and high school libraries certainly have very little in the field. The same difficulty exists with respect to local public libraries. Even where such materials are available, most high school students are not able to do sustained independent reading and research, and a text is an essential for good classroom cohesion. The text used in Social Economics was *The American Story of Industrial and Labor Relations,* published in 1943 by the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions, by the Williams Press, Albany, New York. We found it simple and objective, yet challenging. It was well-liked by the class. Its table of contents was used as an outline for the course so that the following topics were treated in the order listed:

Part I—Economic, Political and Industrial History of our country from 1790 to 1940. Here the entire sweep of our social history was studied and presented. Emphasis was placed on the problems of past years which *still* exist so that transitions to and comparisons with contemporary problems could be more easily understood.

Part II—Federal and State legislation, with particular emphasis on the railway legislation of the 1920's and the new labor legislation of the 1930's. Mediation and arbitration were discussed, as were workmen's compensation, wage and hour laws, unemployment insurance and old age assistance.

In addition to the above, the Taft-Hartley Law, and similar state laws passed in 1947, were presented, discussed, illustrated in class.

Part III—The third part of the text: "Industrial and Labor Relations in Crisis—War and Postwar Problems" must be made current, with emphasis on the *latest* major developments. Illustrations are most meaningful if drawn from the local community, bringing them closer to the students. National problems of current significance must also be explained and interpreted.

In addition to the text, other materials were brought in and used at appropriate points. These included newspaper articles from papers with divergent viewpoints; Government publications, especially those from the U. S. Department of Labor and the U. S. Department of Commerce; bulletins issued by uni-

versities working in this field—Illinois, Cornell, Chicago, Harvard, Yale, Michigan, etc.; special studies by private research organizations in the field; magazine articles including the general monthly magazines, as well as those published by the Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers, the CIO, AFL, etc.; supplementary books, including biography and fiction; actual union contracts. There is an almost unlimited amount of such materials and they bring a valuable liveliness into the classroom.

CLASSROOM PROCEDURE

Classroom procedure varied with the understanding and interest of the class in the sections under discussion. The first four days of each week were generally spent in discussing assigned textbook material, answering questions raised by the text, introducing related and additional questions. When information outside the text had to be presented, short lectures were given and the students generally took notes. An effort was made to indicate clearly on which points these notes were to fit in with the text and how they were related to it. A section of the student's notebook was headed *vocabulary* and all new terms were defined, discussed, and then listed. This language activity was very useful in increasing student understanding of current labor-management problems. Tests were given at the end of each chapter of the text and the vocabulary terms acquired during that period were included. Some tests were discussion type; some objective; some true-false and short-answer. The final examination was largely objective and covered highlights of the entire course. Each test included a question asking for evaluation of the course as to materials, presentation, points needing further elaboration and clarification. Many valuable ideas for the improvement of the course resulted from this question.

SPECIAL REPORTS AND CURRENT EVENTS

On Friday of each week, the class discussed current events by special reports presented by the students. Each student kept a separate current events notebook. During the first half of the semester, one article a day dealing with labor-management problems from a newspaper was clipped by each student. It was dated, pasted in the student's notebook, and accompanied by a short, critical paragraph on the meaning of the article, as well as questions relating to it. The student could read the article in full or summarize it during class on Friday, opening it to general discussion. This always resulted in very active participation by the majority of the class. The second half of the semester this procedure was varied by allowing the students to select more freely—perhaps a sequence of articles that interested them relating to a particular industrial dispute or problem (strike, negotiations, safety or health problems, etc.). On these series they were expected to write more critical analysis and there was a noticeable gain in understanding during this second quarter. These current events notebooks were collected and checked each Friday and returned the following Monday so the following week's work could be added.

Fridays were also used for reports other than those based on current events. These were usually limited to about fifteen minutes each. Several of these dealt with books of biography or historical background in the field. Students frequently read such books for English or History and summarized them for Social Economics as well. One student compiled reports sent to stockholders of a steel company and presented this material as a steel industry reply to some of the studies on prices, wages, and profits made by labor organizations. When a student attended an outside meeting or heard a special radio program (which were called to the attention of the entire class whenever possible), these were reported to the class as a whole.

FIELD ACTIVITIES

The course under discussion was given at a time when there was much newspaper discussion of consumer cooperatives as the possible answer to high prices. A well-known community leader was invited to work with the class for a two-hour session, and the questions and discussion were on a high level and very stimulating. Several students even decided to make specific studies of cooperative movements abroad. For further information some attended a downtown night meeting sponsored by a St. Louis consumers' cooperative. Here they heard Victor Reuther, Educational Director of the UAW-CIO, speak on the growth of consumer cooperation among the automobile workers.

For a different point of view on prices and profits, the students attended a meeting at Washington University, sponsored by the St. Louis Junior Chamber of Commerce. The subject was "Profits Mean Progress to Everyone" and was based on an educational film prepared by the International Harvester Company. In addition to the film, there was a panel discussion by the local head of the Associated Industries and several distinguished local industrialists and public relations experts. This, too, led to additional study by students and provided material for excellent classroom discussion.

One of the most valuable outside activities undertaken by the entire class was a half-day field trip. Using the school bus, the class visited a cross-section of the garment industry in St. Louis. They stopped at and talked with staff members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, AFL. They visited, and talked with management and union representatives in two dress factories, of different type and size. Their final stop was at the Garment Industry Medical Center, managed jointly by the union and management. Without exception, the students considered this trip highly useful and referred to it again and

again afterward in the course. Each of them suggested more such trips for future classes in order to study different industries in the city.

I also found that public displays of current events notebooks, of new books of biography and history in the field, of union and management publications, and technical government reports were of great interest to the class. The students were impressed by the wealth and range of materials from all of these sources. For a PTA open house, such an exhibit was arranged by the students themselves. In addition to a selection of materials such as those noted above, two posters were produced by the class and exhibited. There are many other techniques of classroom exhibits which can be worked out by individual teachers and cooperating classes.

EVALUATION

A good tool for evaluating the course is a diary, which I kept daily throughout the term. No matter how brief the notes, they serve to recall specific problems and to assure a permanent record of each day's classroom activities, new terms learned, questions raised, points of confusion. These daily notes can then be blended into a useful over-all picture of results which helps to point the way to new directions for future courses.

For judging the progress made by students, I found their notebooks particularly useful. By studying comments which accompanied the pasted-in articles, it was possible to see where they had advanced in understanding the problems of the field. Further judgments on development of students and their absorption of material came from conferences with individuals or small groups and from general classroom reactions. On examinations, their candid answers to subjective questions were illuminating. From all of this, I gathered two fundamental results of the course: a more questioning attitude on the part of the students, and a greater familiarity with both the factual knowledge and the sources of this knowledge.

For the first time, many of the students were having their minds opened to the fact that earning a living in our complex industrial society involved many problems of which they had been totally unaware. They began to realize that regardless of their own position in society, they would be part of the forces involved in these problems. They began to see the necessity for a careful reading of their daily newspapers and an evaluation of the news and editorials. Many indicated they had never before gone much beyond the sports and comic sections. They found a new interest in radio discussions. Previously they had listened primarily to entertainment programs. These were some of the results as far as the entire class group was concerned.

In addition to the overall beneficial effect of such a course, there were several individual instances of particularly significant growth. One student, who would acquire his father's business upon graduation from college, stated he would like to hold summer jobs, alternately with labor and management. Another student was particularly interested in the possibilities for government employment in this field. Several indicated a desire to study more about the subject at college.

This course, in my opinion, can be made a logical conclusion to various other high school social studies subjects. From the background of a high school course in Psychology, it can introduce the student to the actual workings of a human problem involving conflicting forces. From History and Government, with their overall picture of the development of our country, it can bring him to the specific growth of industry and of labor in an industrial country. From Sociology, it can utilize the student's knowledge of community problems. From Economics, it can take the contribution of an understanding of business cycles and other factors which influence greatly the industrial pattern of our society.

There is a real need for such a course and it offers a challenge to teachers and school administrators. The measure of its success can help determine the degree of preparedness a high school can offer its graduating students. To those students entering industry directly, it can be of invaluable assistance in quicker adjustment and perhaps faster advancement. To students entering college, it can afford a bridge to the study of advanced social science courses.

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INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS EDUCATION IN A MULTI-GROUP SOCIETY

by WILLIAM O. STANLEY

In a multi-group society, inertia and tradition frequently jeopardize the school's task of dealing fairly and creatively with conflicting group perspectives and prejudices. In no field is this danger more immanent than in the study of labor-management relations. The objective examination and correction of distorted and erroneous cultural biases in this area are likely to be denounced as partisan by those who hold such biases. The question of how education should proceed in that field is discussed in this article. The author is Assistant Professor of Education at the University of Illinois.

Historically, men have always lived in small, relatively simple neighborhoods in which practically all of the really important concerns of life were governed by face-to-face relationships. There were many such neighborhoods; but each, whatever the differences within it, represented a substantial community of feeling and belief based upon common interests and a common way of life.

During the last three-quarters of a century, however, industrialization, with its complex network of interdependence and specialization, has seriously weakened, where it has not destroyed, the social conditions which, since the dawn of history, have made the local community the primary factor shaping the life and character of the vast majority of men and women. Large metropolitan centers have increasingly replaced the neghborhood as the social matrix of human life; and mass production—in conjunction with large scale corporate enterprise and an almost miraculous improvement in the means of transportation and communication—has profoundly altered the focus of human interests and concerns. For in the "great society" created by science and technology men are frequently more dependent upon, and hence more concerned about, the prosperity of a corporation, a profession, or a trade union than they are upon the welfare of the particular locality in which they happen to reside.

At the same time the emergence of the "great society", accompanied by the progressive decline of the bonds which welded the locality into a living community, has tremendously enhanced the importance of the various occupational, ethnic, race, class and religious divisions in our society. Each of these groups, since they represent, in some measure, diverse traditions, functions and social relationships, are naturally subjected to somewhat different patterns of experience and discipline. Frequently they are further separated by wide variations in economic security and circumstances. In a nation in which both social status and access to the cultural and material goods of society depends to a marked extent upon the possession of an adequate command of pecuniary means, differences in economic positions almost always lead to significant differences in modes of living. Accordingly, as interest and experience are everywhere the architects of perspective and judgment, each of these groups have developed somewhat different standards, attitudes and beliefs.

Moreover in the "great society" the individual voice, save in rare instances is no longer effective. Men have, therefore, turned to organized group expression and action. Consequently the organized intrest group has increasingly replaced the early nineteenth century neighborhood as the basic social, political and educative unit in American society.

For centuries morality in Western society has been worked out almost exclusively in terms of face-to-face relationships. But today the crucial questions of social morality are primarily concerned with impersonal group relations. Within the memory of men now living western civilization has been suddenly confronted with the problem of creating, from the accepted canons of individual morality, a defensible and workable system of intergroup morality. This problem has been enormously complicated by the fact that the progressive destruction of the local community has extended and deepened the bases of group conflict in the United States. For in a society in which both the character of persons and the measures of public policy are primarily shaped by a welter of organized interest groups, representing diverse modes of living and embodying different perspectives and beliefs, group conflict on a major scale becomes inevitable.

Moreover, precisely because these groups do reflect divergent interests and experiences they frequently do not, to employ the popular phrase, speak the same language. Far too often, they fail to understand in any real sense either the motivations or the reasoning underlying the action of other groups. Consequently the debate between organized interests in the "great society", unlike the discussions in the neighborhood, has not typically led to a common point of view with which to modify and adjudicate the clash of divergent interests. Nor can it be said that

the public interest provides a common standard, for the fact is that specialization has done its work so thoroughly that almost everyone in our society is more or less identified with some partial public. The result is, as an increasing number of scholars and statesmen have been compelled to admit, that the essential core of common values and beliefs which forms the foundations of society have worn perilously thin in our time. Personal disintegration, moreover, has to some extent kept pace with social disintegration. For, in a multi-group society, individuals necessarily become involved, often as a member, with more than one group, with the natural result that they are somewhat confused and divided by the pull of conflicting group standards and expectations.

LABOR AND THE SCHOOLS

When the vital relationship between education and the social order is taken into account it is clear that the emergence of the "great society" has imposed an important and difficult task upon the public school. More than a generation ago John Dewey, in his justly famous definition of the school as a special environment, reminded American educators that one of the three major functions of public education is the provision in the school of a balanced environment which would enable the student to understand, and where possible, to integrate the conflicting standards and perspectives engendered by a multi-group society. Since then the reasons which impelled Dewey to take this position have become more evident and more urgent with each succeeding decade. But despite the enormous importance of the task it must be admitted that until very recently the public school has for all practical purposes simply ignored it. Indeed, so far as the vast majority of the schools are concerned it is still for the most part ignored.

Nowhere has this neglect been more evident or the consequences of neglect more grave than in the case of the fundamental conflict with which the present issue of *Progressive Education* is concerned. Except for casual references in American History, the study of labor problems in the public schools below the college level has been limited almost exclusively to brief and inadequate units in courses in social problems offered only in a relatively few high schools. But if there has been little or no systematic study of labor problems in the school the testimony of able historians, business men and labor leaders indicates that a strong but largely unconscious anti-labor bias, expressing itself through a great variety of more or less incidental remarks and actions, has frequently been woven into the entire instructional program of the school.

There are, of course, a number of reasons for this situation. Schools have tended to shy away from controversial issues, particularly when they impinged upon the centers of economic and political power. School boards, in the past, have typically been dominated by groups traditionally unfavorable to the cause of organized labor—that is, by farmers, or by representatives of the upper economic brackets. School administrators, by virtue of their office, are members of the managerial group, as well as of the teaching profession; and they have sometimes been unconsciously inclined, as a result of their training and associations, to mistake the views of the economically dominant elements within the community for the voice of the entire community.

But a significant portion of the responsibility for the attitude of the school towards labor, labor problems and labor unions must be assumed by the teaching profession itself. As a group teachers have not been too well informed about the problems of labor in our society. And there is considerable evidence that, despite the fact that organized labor has usually been found among the strongest supporters of public education, many teachers have fully shared traditional middle class prejudices against labor unions.

Actually the situation is even worse than it appears to be on the surface. The provision of a balanced environment requires something more than a systematic but neutral study of the perspectives and programs of the major social groups in American society. It does mean, of course, that the school must develop a program of study which will enable students from all sectors of our nation to acquire a sympathetic comprehension of these perspectives and programs. But a balanced environment also means that students must be encouraged to undertake a thorough evaluation of group perspectives and programs in terms of the requirements of American democratic ideals. Particularly is this the case where the group in question represents a traditionally subordinate element of the American people seeking to secure, at the hands of an indifferent or hostile public, the recognition of new rights and of a new status. In other words the provision of a genuinely balanced environment frequently demands that instruction in the school compensate for the bias of the culture where that bias conflicts with the clear requirements of the democratic tradition.

The negro aside, no group more fully merits, on the basis of the above statement, the sympathetic consideration of the public school than organized labor. The vast majority of the American people now depend primarily upon wages and salaries for their living. In the organized world brought into being by the emergence of the "great society" unorganized wage and salary workers have no effective means of protecting their interests. Yet up to the present time organized labor remains a minority group operating in a more or less hostile environment. It is probably true that a majority of the American people, including a substantial proportion of business management,

have more or less reluctantly accepted the principle of collective bargaining in theory. But they have not accepted it in practice. Existing labor unions are resented and opposed, not only by many employers, but also—frequently contrary to their own interests—by large segments of the rural population, by a considerable proportion of the urban middle class, including a majority of white collar workers, and even by a substantial number of urban manual laborers.

It is possible that this ambiguous attitude toward organized labor is to be explained entirely in terms of the errors and sins of American labor unions. Certainly no one would argue that organized labor in the United States has been without either error or sin. But it is significant that almost without exception careful and imparital students of American labor problems reject the thesis that, on the whole, labor unions have been guilty of that degree of persistent bad conduct which would justify the withdrawal of public confidence. When the stubborn resistance always encountered by groups seeking to redefine the balance of power in any society is taken into account it becomes at least possible that the ambivalence of the American mind with respect to organized labor is due in major part to the persistence, at the level of practice, of traditional conceptions and practices. It is possible, in other words that there is a powerful, but unconscious, tendency on the part of the American middle classes to assent to the principle of collective bargaining provided labor unions refrain from taking the practical steps necessary to make collective bargaining effective. If this is so, of course, any error or misconduct on the part of any union or of any labor leader, no matter how trivial, will be magnified and exploited in order to rationalize negative attitudes toward labor unions—attitudes which are based in fact upon ancient and consciously unacceptable prejudices.

The point of these remarks is simply that in order to provide a balanced environment in the area of industrial relations it would be necessary for the schools, particularly in rural and middle class sections, to devote a considerable amount of time to a careful and sympathetic study of the role of the labor union in a highly industrialized society. Obviously such study is wholly impossible apart from an informed and sympathetic teaching profession. It may well be, therefore, that, if the profession wishes to perform in the area of labor relations the crucial function which Dewey suggested more than a generation ago, the time has come to put a thorough examination of the problems and the role of organized labor in American society somewhere near the top of the list of professional musts.

EDUCATION AND THE POST-WAR REACTION AGAINST LABOR.

The problem posed by the preceeding section of this article has now become particularly acute. After the passage of the Wagner Labor Act many students of labor problems hoped and expected that the suspicion and distrust of labor unions on the part of middle class Americans would gradually disappear. For a time it seemed that this expectation might be realized. Unfortunately this trend, if it ever existed, has now been reversed. Since the war a number of states, acting in many cases through legislatures in which the city voter is heavily underrepresented, have passed punative laws severely restricting the activities of labor unions. And the federal congress, over the President's veto, enacted the Taft-Hartley Labor Act —an act which organized labor, not without a considerable measure of reason, regards as a highly prejudicial law which, whenever the demand for labor slackens, could easily be used to undermine the very existence of many unions.

These laws, of course, are a part and a symbol of the general wave of reaction in the United States since the war. Unquestionably the conservative nature of the 80th congress and the steady barrage of propaganda and pressure maintained by the N. A. M. and other employers organizations against the Wagner Labor Act ever since it was enacted were significant factors in the passage of these laws. But the fact remains that a large portion of the American people, as well as the representatives of "big business", demanded the passage of laws restricting the activities of labor unions; a fact which undoubtedly reflects a feeling on the part of both the rural and urban middle class that many of these activities were contrary to the public welfare. The growth of this feeling was stimulated, of course, by traditional prejudices against labor unions and by the apparently arbitrary and quarrelsome attitude of certain labor leaders.

Nevertheless the hard core of middle class irritation with labor grew out of a series of important misconceptions with respect to the nature of labor union activities and the facts of the current labor situation. In practically every case this web of misinformation and unexamined assumptions was enormously facilitated by the fact that, apart from a certain amount of personal experience with the policies of a few craft unions particularly in the building trades, public knowledge of labor union activities and of labor problems is largely limited to the extremely biased and inadequate accounts usually carried by the press and the radio.

In part, of course, this bias is a reflection of the fact that, for the most part, newspapers and radio stations are owned and controlled by wealthy business men, naturally identified with the interests of management. In the case of some papers, and of some radio commentators, this bias descends to the level of deliberate and conscious distortion of the news. Most

newspapers, and most radio stations, however, are not consciously dishonest. The subtle but pervasive anti-labor slant in the treatment of the news almost always found in these agencies of communication is not due to deliberate distortion. Rather, as William Allen White has brilliantly indicated, it is due simply to the fact that owners and editors, as successful business men, invariably tend to think like business men.

Nevertheless the most serious defect of the press and the radio, as the primary source of public information with respect to labor union activities and labor problems, lies in the very fact that both are geared, first of all, to the dissemination of news. For news by definition, emphasizes the immediate and the spectacular. The deep underlying causes of labor unrest, the long patient hours of negotiation by which disputes are usually settled, the many welfare activities of labor unions, and even the remarkable services which, at their best, unions have offered to management are news, if at all, only of an inferior quality. But strikes are *news*. Hence, without understanding the basic causes of labor problems, and totally unaware of the peaceful, cooperative activities of labor unions, the urban middle class and the farmer tend to regard the union quite simply as a trouble maker.

Like the public, teachers, up to the present time, have been primarily dependent upon the press and the radio for their knowledge of labor problems. So, from the standpoint of a more complete understanding of the dangers inherent in the neglect of labor issues in the schools, it might be profitable to examine a few significant instances of anti-labor biases created by lack of adequate knowledge of the facts.

CURRENT MISCONCEPTIONS OF UNION ACTIVITIES.

An excellent example of the operation of such biases can be found in the widely accepted myth that organized labor, in utter disregard of their patriotic duty, indulged in an orgy of strikes during the war. Actually the leaders of organized labor, despite the fact that, unlike profits, wages were rigorously controlled, voluntarily issued an ironclad no-strike pledge, which so far as the great national unions were concerned was, with one exception, observed with remarkable fidelity. There were a number of small, unauthorized strikes, many of which were directed against employers who like Samuel Avery, refused to accept the decisions of the War Labor Board. At no time did these work stoppages amount to more than one-tenth of one percent of the total labor force—a figure that is not only extremely low in itself but is actually lower than the percentage of time lost in the armed forces through members of those services absent without leave. Such figures were, of course, occasionally printed in the back pages of the newspapers. But every strike was reported so conspicuously and so continuously that large sections of the public were convinced that, so far as organized labor was concerned, strikes were the usual order of business throughout the war.

Nor is it true that, as the middle-class American has thought, labor has demanded or received exorbitant wages. Increases in hourly wage rates for straight time during the war were generally limited to 15% by the little-steel formula enforced by the War Labor Board. The increase in weekly wages was somewhat greater due to the prevalence of overtime. Even so, weekly wages lagged definitely behind farm income and business profits. Moreover, much of this gain was canceled by higher taxes and higher prices; the 1944 average weekly wage for all manufacturing industries, computed in terms of 1939 dollars, for example, was only $8.12 more than it had been in 1939. After the war weekly wages were sharply cut by the reduction or elimination of overtime at a time when prices and profits were steadily rising. It was this situation which forced organized labor to ask for increased wage rates, but despite three general increases, wages still lag far behind prices, profits and farm income. In the manufacturing industries, where the great unions are largely concentrated, hourly wage rates are now up 25% over the war level (weekly wages 11%) while wholesale prices have increased by 50% above the war level. In terms of purchasing power, and of relative position, all types of labor, with the possible exception of the building trades, have lost heavily since the war. And the fact that wholesale prices have increased twice as much as wages should dispose of the contention that labor costs are the primary cause of inflation. On the contrary, as Professor Arnold Tolles of Cornell has pointed out "the wage earner instead of being the aggressor in the so-called price spiral, has actually been the victim of it."

The charge of malpractice, on the other hand, cannot be met by a categorical denial. Every item in the indictment has some basis in fact with respect to some union. But, with one exception, none of these malpractices are characteristic of organized labor as a whole. Racketeering is limited to a handful of building trade and service unions in our big cities. Nor is it in any peculiar sense a union problem or a union responsibility. In almost every instance it is a combination of crooked business men, crooked labor leaders, crooked politicians and outright gangsters. Union labor, like the majority of business men and the public, are in the direct sense victims and not culprits in this matter. Moreover, the existing criminal code, if enforced, is fully adequate to deal with these criminals. It is sometimes difficult to obtain adequate evidence in these cases, but the heart of the trouble lies in lax law enforcement and in the corrupt ele-

ments which are frequently found in our local governments. In this sense union labor must share with business men and with the public generally the blame for the complacency, the fear and the desire to secure petty favors which keep corrupt machines in power. But here the indictment properly runs, not against organized labor, but against the public as a whole.

Every large national union, of course, has its communist members, just as every great business organization has its fascist, and occasionally even its communist, members. For the most part these totalitarian organizations, right and left, work under cover through secret memberships. But very few unions are communist controlled, and these are, for the most part, small and unimportant. It is true that several large unions, like the United Automobile Workers, have had to conduct long and courageous battles to prevent communist domination. Small, but able and disciplined, communist cells work tirelessly, in the unions and elsewhere, to secure strategic posts from which to carry on their undercover activities. But these facts would indicate to the unprejudiced mind that the able, vigorous, anti-communist leadership of American unionism deserves the full support of all the democratic forces in America. Instead, every effort has been made by the anti-labor element in the nation to tar this leadership, as in the case of Sidney Hillman, with the communist brush. The fact is the anti-union leadership, in business, in politics and in the press, has not been primarily interested in preventing communist control of labor unions but in using the communist issue to dam the entire labor movement.

Far from being radical, let alone communist, organized labor in the United States has traditionally been decidedly conservative. In fact, it is an open question if one of the most serious charges that can be made against labor is not that it has been too narrowly concerned with the economic interests of its members in such matters as wages, hours and working conditions. From this point of view it is encouraging that organized labor has recently begun to show some interest in broader economic and political issues affecting the welfare of the masses of the people as a whole. Only as this interest is continued, along intelligent and democratic lines, can the labor movement realize its full potentialities as a democratic force in American Society.

The charge of irresponsibility, also, can be justly made only with respect to a few unions. But in this case it is true that these unions are among the largest in America. In fact, bigness, coupled with rapidity of growth, once the long and stubborn resistance of American industrialists to unionism in the large mass production industries was broken, are the major sources of the difficulty. National union leadership is almost never irresponsible; it simply does not pay. Irresponsible strikes, called in violation of contract, are primarily local affairs undertaken without authorization from the national leadership. They are the reflection of weak discipline, of the inexperience of local union leaders and management representatives alike in collective bargaining techniques, and of the heritage, felt on both sides, of the long and bitter struggle over unionism in these industries. In this case the remedy lies in experience and in patient efforts to utilize and develop sound collective bargaining machinery and methods. Union leadership is fully as interested as, and sometimes more than, management in securing this result as rapidly as possible. Indeed, one of the factors primarily responsible for the middle class attitude towards labor unions is the fact, largely due to the interest of press in the dramatic and the controversial, that while the public is constantly reminded of the elements of conflict in labor-management relationships it knows little or nothing of the careful negotiation and friendly cooperation which are, with many unions, the standard staples of collective bargaining.

The one item of the indictment which can truthfully be brought against organized labor as a whole is that it sometimes, by one device or another limits production. Even here important reservation must be made. Many unions have, in cooperation with management, and sometimes, as in the garment trade, without it, undertaken extensive projects designed to increase production and efficiency in their industry. In other cases what has been called restriction of production is in fact simply a legitmate attempt to project workers from unjust "speed-ups" and from unfair manipulating of piece work rates. Even in the case of the intricate jurisdictional rules found in many craft unions these rules are, as a conservative and able Harvard Professor of Economics, Sumner H. Slicter, has demonstrated, the result of historical conditions rather than of any deliberate effort to limit production.

Nevertheless it is true that organized labor, in order to protect the jobs of its members, has adopted policies which tend to restrict production. But it must be said in all justice that this is an almost universal American practice. Business, for example, systematically limits production in slack periods in order to maintain prices. Farmers, under the A. A. A., did precisely the same thing; and large corporate farmers, as in the citrus fruit industry, have destroyed whole crops rather than depress the market. The root of these practices lies in the insecurity of the American economy. The remedy for it, therefore, must be found in measures designed to promote security. Certainly it is not fair to blame labor exclusively for a general American practice.

CONCLUSION

No impartial student of labor-management rela-

tions can argue that the practices of American labor unions have invariable been wise and just, or that labor is wholly without its share of responsibility for the present unfavorable attitude of many Americans. Despite the limited resources at their command it is fair to say that their public relations programs have been weak and inadequate. Many union leaders have been arbitrary and undemocratic in the government of their own unions. They have, not unlike other organized interests in American society, frequently been too narrowly concerned with the interest of their own group without regard to the interests of others. And they have, where their intentions were good, made their share of errors and mistakes. But neither does an impartial study justify the conclusion that the influence of organized labor has, on the whole, been bad. On the contrary it indicates that there is no adequate ground for the wholesale condemnation of unions now prevalent in many middle class circles or for the attempt to weaken their effectiveness either as the bargaining representatives or as the political agencies of the working man.

Regardless of the accuracy of the grounds upon which that feeling rests, however, the fact remains that during and since the war, middle class impatience with organized labor has sharply increased. If this attitude is continued into a depression it may well encourage actions and conditions which at best would further divide the American people and at worst might lead to the very threshold of an American form of fascism. Certainly no educator aware of the problem posed by Professor Dewey can afford to neglect this situation. The school, of course, could not undertake to propagandize for a particular labor program. And, in the absence of an extensive system of adult education, even the most thorough study of labor problems might not have prevented the growing hostility towards labor unions during and after the war. But it could help its students to analyze the issues involved in the light of the facts and of our democratic ideals. Such study would not only influence effective public opinion in the future but would also, in all probability, exercise some indirect influence upon current adult opinion. And, had it been carried on in the past the public would have been better equipped to understand the issues and to recognize the pertinent facts. ✦ ✦ ✦

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF OF B'NAI B'RITH

Program Division

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THEY LOOK AT THEIR BELIEFS

by **H. GORDON HULLFISH**

In a world of conflicting values it is necessary that we become aware of how our beliefs develop and that we acquire discipline in the valuing process. The case studies presented in this article illustrate how the source of our biases toward labor and management can be unmasked. The author is Professor of Education, Ohio State University.

There ought to be no mystery about the source of values of the developing young person. No one lives unto himself alone. The necessary condition for life, and for its continuance, is interaction. This is an obvious fact. We would do well, however, when we ponder the source of values, to recall the complete state of dependence into which the human infant is born. It would also be helpful to recall with what slowness the infant emerges from this dependency. In the larger sense society does not recognize *independence,* and this only in a free culture, until the adolescent period is history. Where freedom is not honored the dependent state is a permanent state, officially sanctioned. But in any culture the growth and development of the infant is initially dependent upon the solicitude and care of a small circle of adults. It is through this group that the first insight into what is valued by those with whom one grows up is gained. It is this interaction which is the initial source of values; and, moreover, interaction, no matter how much the growing person extends his range of contacts, is the continuing source of values.

PLURAL VALUES

If this fact is obvious, so also is another one. In a world of plural values the individual will come into possession of conflicting values. It is in just such a world that our problem arises. This may make the educational problem a difficult one for the adults who must deal with it; nevertheless, it is a stroke of good fortune for our young people. Were the matter otherwise, were plurality not the characteristic of the value situation they confront, they would be in interaction with cultural forces that would deliberately torture their lives in order that they might all be struck from a predetermined pattern. Under such circumstances the problem of character education would be an academic one. The problem arises exactly in proportion, as the following quotation suggests, to the alternative values which emerge to challenge established values.

> A good man has built up a set of habits; a good society has established certain laws and moral codes. But unless the man or society is in a changeless world with no new conditions there will be new problems. And this means that however good the habit was for its time and purpose there must be new choices and new valuations. A character that would run automatically in every case would be pretty nearly a mechanism!

Certain serious considerations are forced upon us by this fact of plurality, however. To begin with, adults, as a matter of course, and institutions, as a matter of policy, will undertake to shape the young people whom they directly influence in terms of specific value patterns. In the normal give and take between the adult and the young person there is no escape from this concern. It is inherent in the developmental process. It is also normal enough that adults, to protect against the loss of that which they have come to value, should institutionalize this concern. For this reason we have, in this culture, agencies that are in competition for the allegiance of young people to specific value patterns. Since there is little likelihood that anyone of these will prevail over all of the others each is entitled to feel that in the matter of character our young people, generally, are falling short. And each does so feel. A normal concern to guide the development of young people is transformed into a warrant for insisting that that part of the past with which each has associated shall determine the future development of all.

UNRECOGNIZED VALUE CONFLICTS

A second consideration which the fact of plurality of values brings to the fore is related to the ease with which man may compartmentalize his life. Hence, in our situation an individual may serenely live out a life of confusion unless a conscious effort is made by some agency to bring order into his valuing. This fact of conflict among beliefs that are held with equal conviction can be touched at any point where we wish to place our finger, within individual lives as simple human day-by-day responses occur, within the national or the international scene, or within our history. Carl Becker pointed a telling finger when he said:

> Throughout our history ruthlessness and humane dealing, respect for law and right and disregard of them, have run side by side: in almost equal degree we have exhibited the temper of conformity and of revolt, the disposition to submit voluntarily to law and custom when they serve our purposes and to ignore them when they cease to do so.[2]

[1]Dewey and Tufts: *Ethics,* p. 9 (10 1908 edition)
[2]*Freedom and Responsibility In the American Way of Life,* p 19

We may see this problem more clearly by an examination of the experience of young people. It has been my privilege to have worked with college students over a considerable period of years at a single institution. During that time I have managed from time to time to get an intimate view of the "value history" of individual students. I recognize these insights may *prove* very little. I think I am entitled to recognize, however, that the consistency of the factor of unrecognized conflict which has characterized these expressions is sufficient warrant in support of the suggestion that a major problem of character education resides in this fact. Incidentally, the picture has been changed only in local coloring when I have worked with students at other institutions.

In any event, for whatever it may be worth to our thinking, I should like to share with you a number of these value histories. They were written in an honest effort on the part of the individual to locate both his directive beliefs and their source. It is not unimportant, so far as the educative process is concerned, to note in passing that the students were college seniors and that all have reported this as the first evidence of interest in their educational experience in what they believed.

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I was born into the white race. This fact alone has, naturally, made for many distinct patterns of behavior in my later life..... In the community where I went to school, where I live even now, there are no colored and few Jewish families. The children with whom I went to school, the friends I made, were all of the same race that I am. Most of them attended the same church or one of the Protestant faith. This homegeneity of race and religion made for lack of contact and also lack of knowledge of other people. This may be considered a stumbling block in later social relations. We just naturally, or should I say "culturally", assumed that we were the "superior" race and let it go at that..... One cannot ignore the fact that this lack of contact, this ignorance, so to speak, tended to build up in me a preference for those of "my own kind." Thus the seeds of intolerance are planted and fostered. I do not mean to belittle my family or my community at this point. The fact remains, however, that these environmental conditions directly affected me in this way.

It was when I was a junior in high school that I first had my eyes opened, so to speak. I went on a camping trip with a group from our church. One of the counselors was colored. She was a very talented middle-aged lady and, in particular, was a fine singer. She slept in the girls' dormintory with us and ate with us. We came to know her very well. My natural reaction was to shy away from her. Oddly enough, I did not feel superior. I merely avoided her. It was only after I had learned to know her, through daily contact which I finally could not avoid, that I realized she was a real person. It was only then that I began to examine just what I did believe. I do not mean to say that all the beliefs I had formed were changed, presto. That is not true, of course. I only mean that the door had opened, very partially opened. I still associated Negroes with the hired help. I still had yet to meet the Jew who was not a "money-grabber."

Many things have influenced me since then. My attendance at college marks another milestone in the formulation of my beliefs. For the first time I was in the same classes, in some of the same social groups (such as the Y. M. C. A.), and shared the same rest rooms, with colored people. And for the first time I had close contact with Jewish people..... Such things as close contact with fine, Jewish girls, group work with colored people, and many discussions on campus and at church meetings, have greatly altered my original beliefs. The very necessity of formulating a policy of action because of proximity in college has aided me, too. Then, too, classes such as this, classes that actually make one conscious of attitudes, are a great help. They make one think and that is good.

I began, you see, with beliefs bred into me by my sheltered environment—that I was of a different class than the Negro or the Jew—that they lived in their world, I in mine. Through the influence of my home, church and college, I have progressively altered my beliefs. I am not yet democratic. I can't say just how far I will go, if the test ever comes. I have, I believe, formulated some working principles that influence my actions. I believe that the Negro and the Jew should not be considered as a group, but as individuals. And, in considering an individual, one should look for the best in that person, in terms of personality, character and merit, not in terms of creed or color. This conclusion, of course, conflicts with the social order of which I am a part and I have yet to find a solution of that..... I am not yet satisfied. I feel I must find a working policy that I may use to guide my actions and thoughts in my life. I will begin to teach next year and the question always arises, "What will you teach them about tolerance?", or "What will you do when this or that happens?"

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As a sophomore in college I took part in Y. W. C. A. activities and purposely, because of my prejudice towards the Negro, joined the inter-racial committee. I was curious to see what this thing was all about. The ratio of white to colored people in that little group is about four to five, in favor of the Negro. At first I forced myself to attend. Soon I found myself taking an active interest in the group and in the Negro problem as a whole. Furthermore, I had Negro students in my classes, many of whom were more intelligent than I could ever hope to be. A professor of mine had a Negro assistant, a brilliant man. I could not help but respect him.

While I was slowly, but surely, forming a foundation for the belief of race equality, I began to hear for the first time in my life various nasty remarks about Jews. I was taught in Sunday School that many people

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didn't like us and I knew this to be a fact. But heretofore I had never come in close contact with people who acknowledged dislike for Jewish people. I began to ask myself, "Why do people dislike us?" I finally came to a conclusion. Either their parents taught them that Jews were no good or they met with an undesirable person. Thus opinions are formed against a people or a creed, because of the undesirable actions of a few individuals with whom the whole people or creed may be identified. I thought, further, "this is unfair and biased reasoning." I realized then that it was with unfair and biased reasoning that I had formed a dislike for Negroes.

I am convinced that prejudices are formed through ignorance. The only way the Negro and the white man can have the same privileges is through the education of the white man!

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The belief that all Catholics were bad was held by me from the time I was a small child until a few years ago. As I look back over my life to see where this belief arose, I do not remember ever hearing my parents criticise Catholics. I do know that I never realized that any other church existed except the Methodist until after I began going to school.

I remember that as a child walking home from school my companions and I had several "fights" with the children of a Catholic family in our neighborhood. None of these fights ever amounted to anything beyond a verbal battle in "name-calling," but their consequences were serious so far as the formation of an attitude was concerned.

In my later years the contacts I had with Catholics left me with many distinct impressions. I began to feel that I could tell a Catholic just by talking to a person for a few minutes. By the time I had reached high school I had decided there were no Catholics who were worth anything.

In college I met two girls whom I liked very much. I had known both girls for some time before I accidentally discovered they were Catholic..... Today I have reached another conclusion concerning Catholics. They are no different from other people who are searching for what is the right way to live their lives..... I have learned to respect Catholics. I will admit, though, that I have not lost all my old feelings about them. But I can see now where I have been too narrow-minded in making criticisms of them. As I think about the many different peoples in our world, I now see more clearly how each is trying to discover what is right in his own particular field of experience.

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A Jew is a junk dealer. The Negro—well, he is the fellow who lives in those shacks on Sixth Street. At least, these were my thoughts about the Jew and the Negro when I was a small child. My home city is small and I knew of no race problems as a child. The few Jews and Negroes in this city were those who "knew their place."

There were only two Jewish families that I knew about. They owned the local junkyards. We sold junk to them and, of course, we expected to get "gypped." At least, I heard my parents say this was how these people got rich, "buying low and selling high."

Still I really never came in direct contact with a Jewish person until the daughter of one junk dealer became my music teacher in high school. I went to a rural consolidated high school and there happened to be no Jewish or Negro people in the community. When the young Jewess came into the school the typical small town gossip appeared. The school board was rated rather low for hiring her, other teachers showed resentment, and parents in general did not want their children to take lessons from a Jew.

When does education take place? Some say that people are educated in school. If that is the case my high school really did a good job in making us more prejudiced than we had been before. I must admit that the teacher was an excellent musician and a very good instructor. She had her bad points, but don't we all? Hers were just accentuated because she was a Jew.

In college I was perhaps lucky to get interested in a liberal church. Here the most often discussed topics are race and other religions. These discussions did not "sink in" much the first year but I finally woke up.

During my sophomore year the Student Religious Council asked me to be general chairman of the World Student Day of Prayer service. The Student Religious Council is made up of two delegates from each religious foundation on or near the campus. The Jew and the Negro are included. I found all of these students to be very cooperative. The inter-faith and inter-race work became more vital to me. At present I have worked up to the position of president of the Student Religious Council and I have found these young people easier to get along with than some in my own church family.

By now you probably think I am perfect. Well, you are entirely wrong. I firmly believe that "God hath made of one blood all peoples that dwell on the face of the earth." Still, when I hear some of my friends say mean things about the Jew or the Negro, I am afraid to say much in most cases. It might make me appear different in their sight. But I do believe I have come a long way from the tendency of hatred towards the Jew and the Negro to the feeling of the brotherhood of man. My next step will be to help others in my group and the students I expect to teach in high school. It is a challenge, I must live my beliefs so that others might profit.

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There are two other statements I wish to read into this record. Each is from the hand of a mature student and each is indicative of the manner of personal orientation that may occur as an individual achieves a realizing sense of the state of his values.

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I am a Negro, who at present is employed as school teacher and coach in Florida. All of my life I

have lived under the dual establishments of the deep South. I have formulated certain deep seated beliefs concerning Negro and white relationships.

My beliefs have been based upon fear, mainly fear of the lack of security. I have been taught to be deceitful and humble in order to survive, because my survival has to a large extent depended upon how effective my hypocrisy has been on the white man in making him think I am a good Negro who wants only to stay in his place... Yet, even from such a background as the one I have just described, I firmly believe the democratic way of life is the only way of life that I know of at present that will dignify personality among all peoples. The democratic way of life can bring just as much happiness to the people of America as it did during the early years of our country.

As I look at some of the values with which I grew up I find inconsistencies. For example, I grew up believing Negroes should enter the back door of white people's houses. They should not be entertained in white people's homes. They should not sit next to white people in a street car. Employment for Negroes should be that which places them largely in the service of white people. Negroes could go to college—yes—for some Negro school teachers and some Negro doctors were needed for Negroes. But on the whole the Negro has and should have a very second rate place in our society. The white person who taught in a Negro school (college, for that is the only type of Negro school in which I knew white people to teach) placed himself on a very low level. In fact, he cut himself off from normal social contacts, and that was very understandable.

Behind all this seems to lie the assumption that some races of people are superior to others and that real differences should be found in the opportunities afforded the people of these different races. Though I did not put it into so many words, I'm sure I valued different opportunities for different peoples.

While I was developing such a belief as the one just stated and learning to value different rights instead of equal rights for people, I was also taught, and I believed, that all men are created equal and are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I suppose I did not stop to define life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, for I do not remember being concerned about the inconsistency of the beliefs I was forming. Perhaps, too, I did not define *all* men.

I did question one thing, but I got no further than questioning it. It concerned white teachers of Negro students. I knew of white teachers in Negro colleges and I knew they had no social life among other white people in the community in which they taught. Then I knew missionaries who had returned from work in Africa, and I supposed with the Negro there. These returned missionaries were entertained royally by white poeple in the community. I accepted this as being right and proper. Still I couldn't see exactly why working with the Negro in Africa was so different from working with him in the United States. Why was it? I asked the question, but it was not disturbing enough to me to cause me to call into question any fundamental values I held about people.

It was much later that I realized that some things I was thinking, some things that gave direction to my behavior, would not bear close scrutiny if I were to continue believing in them or holding to them.

I have given, above, only one illustration of the inconsistencies which existed among the beliefs I held and the values I cherished. Many might have been cited. But what was true of this one was, no doubt, true of many. The whole environment in which I lived worked toward giving me values, but not always toward giving me ones which are in perfect harmony with each other.

WE NEED EXPERIENCE IN VALUING

When we examine the efforts of young people to gain some insight into the ways in which their beliefs were formed, we may conclude, as many have done, that a precarious future lies ahead unless we avoid the factors of chance which now characterize the development of values. We may then be disposed to applaud any movement which promises to guarantee that *the right values* are appropriately presented to the young person. This is an intriguing position. Wrong values hold within themselves no promise of good; and, moreover, the condition of plurality within which values now compete for dominance leads to the confusion and conflict which are the cause of our problem. The time has come to set our world aright. The young person will then be able, as he is not now, to get his bearings with a sense of adequacy and we shall be able to see at first hand our character education efforts bear fruit.

The position may be an engaging one but we should have no part of it. We should recognize the position for what it is, the first step in an indoctrinating process which can only end up, if taken seriously, in some form of authoritarianism. And authoritarianism, in any guise, is incompatible with democratic health.

If our young people are confused (and they are), if they give allegiance to values which cut them off, without their knowing it, from the chance to participate in democratic experiences (and they do), the solution is not to replace the values they now hold with a set of values that bear an official trademark. The solution lies in another quarter. The expressions of the young people reported in the foregoing accounts bear witness to this. What is needed is experience, under educative conditions, in *the act of valuing*. What now happens for some young people by chance, the achievement of unity and clarity among

their values as a result of observing the consequences for human association when one set of actions rather than another is engaged in, may then become an end we seek in education for all.

When we recall that it is within experience, in the field of interaction, that values emerge and take form, the suggestion that we place our character emphasis in the growth of young people by focusing upon *the process of valuing,* rather than upon specific values, seems obvious enough. But in this instance our habits obscure the obvious. No habit is easily transformed, and none offers greater resistance than the one established by adults when they are compelled to give guidance to the very young. What was once a necessity continues when the conditions that made it so no longer exist and adult and young person alike, under its influence, are not encouraged to look to the nature of the situations they confront to discover what, under these circumstances, it is appropriate to value.

More serious, however, is our tendency to look for values outside of the experience within which they are rooted. We accept as natural, therefore, our failure *within* experience to live up to the demands of values that *transcend* it. This, too, is habit-forming, with the consequence that a callousness to conditions which we have the power to transform, and thereby change our valuing, makes us progressively less sensitive to the hiatus which is thus created between our actions and our verbal expressions. But the conditions of life cannot forever be ignored and when crisis situations, such as a war and its aftermath occur, our shortage in character is exposed and we beat the tomtoms for a corrective. It is then that we experience, as is now the case, the essentially desparate struggle for the control of character among those who would return to a way of life they recall as good.

There is, however, no backward path down which we may walk with safety, though there are many ready guides, each ready to point out that his is the path to sanctuary. What the individual needs is help in doing at the articulate level what he is already engaged in doing at quite another level, pitting belief against belief in the realm of experience. He may then sense, as he does not now do, the consequences of his choices for human good in advance of action and in relationship to the new problems and factors which condition both the nature and the attainment of good within the present. Continuity of character is dependent not upon specific belief alone. Indeed, if the belief remains unchanged in the face of new problems, character is identified with doggedness, if not dogmatism. Continuity is dependent upon our ability to transform both the conditions of our time and the values of our past so that we may become progressively more adept in creating the standards and the instruments which make "good character" a reality in experiential terms.

There are a number of consequences of shifting our search for security from specific values to the process of valuing which, unfortunately, we cannot develop in this writing. But one or two of them should be noted. In the first instance, as I believe our student expressions make abundantly clear, the transformation of belief is directly related to the transformation of the experience within which the individual engages. We are not dealing with a problem of changing from one book to another, or of shifting content within a course. That which we treat as knowledge, and which holds the promise that it will lead the individual to an improved conception of the right and the good, will achieve the status of knowledge *for the student* only as it functions within the experience of the student, to help him reconstruct his beliefs and his behavior in terms of its implications for human good. At bottom this means that the individual shall come to see the process of valuing as the instrument by which he may bring a maximum of intelligence to human problems and, through its use, ground the hope that men may move progressively to better answers for the problems of men.

One further consequence needs also to be noted. The position here presented rests on faith in the ability of men to become intelligent under conditions that prize intelligence. It rests, too, upon a respect for all individuals simply because they are human beings. It is, in short, the position from which our basic democratic insights emerge. We may conclude, then, that the democratic interaction of men confronts us with the necessity of developing a morality which is consistent with, and unique for, this manner of interaction. It is within the shared experiences of men, experiences consciously shared in order that our range of insights and of interests may be extended, that the good of a democratic world is to be found. And it is the function of intelligence to seek it out within these shared experiences. The work of the school, as a formal agency of education, and the work of other institutions, as informal agencies of education, should be guided by this fact.

None of us has the right to hold his conception of the good life above the shared experience and thereby give it a value that has priority over democracy itself. Yet each should be expected to develop his values and his intelligence by using the latter in acts of valuing. But this is not enough. The consciously shared experience is critical. It is within such experiences that the pay dirt of valuing is to be found. Here we find the essential democratic discipline. By the deliberate creation of such experiences we may hope to advance our common insights into democratic association and, in the process, to create the conditions within which the good life may be achieved.

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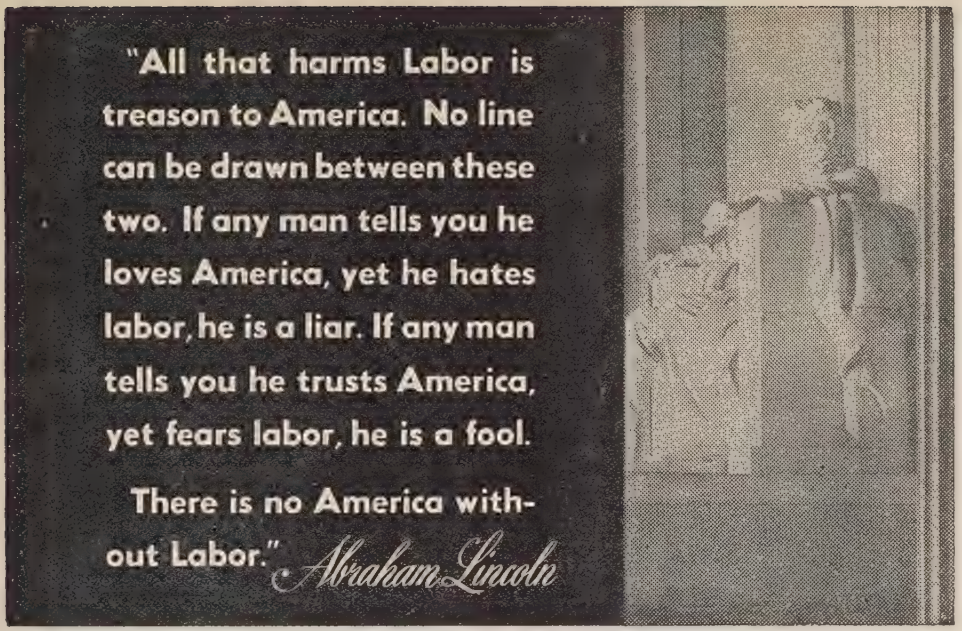
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There is no America without Labor."
Abraham Lincoln

A FAIR DEAL FOR LABOR IN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS EDUCATION

by GEORGE T. GUERNSEY

Many teachers who would be committed to present impartially both sides of labor-management controversies are unaware of the extent to which many regular sources of information are weighted in favor of one side. The Associate Director of Education of the CIO discusses this problem and suggests ways of securing materials for an adequate presentation of labor's case.

Most progressive educators realize that since the end of World War II progressive and democratic movements in American life have been steadily losing ground. Evidence of this is seen most clearly in political and legislative fields: the failure of Congress to pass the federal aid-to-education bill; the end of price control; the filibuster against the poll-tax; the killing of the excess profits tax; the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act; and the failure to pass a decent housing bill.

By and large, the American press, radio, and movies played their part in this growing trend by failing to give an adequate picture of the role of organized labor in American democracy. The growing labor movement, with more than 15 million members, has become the scapegoat which powerful business interests have used to hide their attacks on the whole American people.

Millions of adults, trained in American public schools, have no background on the American trade union movement except that which they get from reactionary newspapers or third-hand rumoring. American public schools have done little to help the average person to understand a movement which embraces more than 15 million Americans.

BIG BUSINESS INFLUENCE

On the other hand, the position of big business is well advertised. A well-organized program working through the schools, churches, farm groups, and women's clubs was carried out by the National Association of Manufacturers to lay the groundwork for the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act. In the *NAM News* of April 26, 1947, Holcombe Parkes, the publicity director of the NAM, reports in full on that organization's program:

> "On January 8, an advertisement entitled "For the Good of All" appeared in seventy-three daily newspapers, with about 23½ million circulation. This advertisement, as you know, was a full-page reproduction of our labor program in toto.
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> "Its circulation was multiplied many

times by 101 thousand reprints which were sent to members for supplemental use. They tacked them up on plant bulletin boards; they put them in mail to customers, suppliers, and civic leaders. We also sent out 92 mats of the advertisement for local sponsorship by individual manufacturers or NIC affiliates.

"Our Industrial Press Service clipsheet, which goes to some 5,500 weekly newspapers, has carried 10 cartoons, 13 stories, 6 editorials, and 8 features on labor since the first of the year.

"'Briefs for Broadcasters,' which goes weekly to commentators on 839 radio stations at their request, carried 10 stories dealing with labor.

"Now, here's an important new project, 'Your Business Reporter,' a weekly transcribed series that's catching on with the smaller stations throughout the country. Since this series started the first of this month, every single program has plugged industry's labor stands.

"Nothing sells better than face-to-face contact. And during the last four months, NAM officers and staff members have spoken before audiences of thousands—67 speeches on labor by officers and staff members, arranged for by the Public Relations Division alone.

"Providing help to the membership—news, facts, figures, ideas, cases—is the weekly *NAM News*. During the first four months of this year, the *News* carried 287 separate stories on labor.

"To give influential community opinion leaders some insight into industry's point of view, NAM publishes four periodicals: 'Program Notes' reaches 40,000 leaders of women's clubs; 'Understanding' goes to 20,000 clergymen; 'Farm and Industry' is sent to 20,000 farm leaders; and 'Trends' is mailed to 40,000 educators. A combined circulation of some 120,000. During the first four months, 28 stories presented various aspects of our labor program."

Even our public schools were not free from the NAM's one-sided approach to this problem. The NAM distributes its own sound movies to teachers. Working through various film distributors, many of America's big business groups have been distributing their own expensively-made 16mm sound movies. Modern Talking Pictures Service, Inc., for instance, is a film library which specializes in distributing 71 free pictures with a total of 9,554 prints and 26 film exchanges to American public schools. Association Films, formerly the YMCA Film Library, with a tremendous 16mm sound business, also furnishes American big business with an outlet for their films. When Walt Disney made a film for U. S. Rubber Company on HOW TO MAKE A TIRE, this film immediately became available free of charge to school groups through the Association Films.

The CIO believes that films on industrial processes should not be furnished free by big business; they should be produced and distributed by the same groups that make other educational and documentary films. Such films are bound to predispose teachers and students toward the company that makes them: for instance, it would be hard to identify the company that produced the Walt Disney film on making a tire with the U. S. Rubber Company's methods in contract negotiations.

Even the October 13, 1948, issue of *Scholastic Teacher,* devoted to "Where to Find It . . . From A to Z," contains many references to business organizations which will send materials to teachers. On page 14-T of this issue is a list of fifty companies including the NAM which furnish educational materials. This list was introduced as follows:

> "Thousands of dollars worth of fine instructional aids are available at no or nominal cost to you as a teacher. Below we list fifty places to write to for instructional aids. Each is a business cooperative group. Each appropriates funds to tell about its product or activity. Most engage trained educational experts to prepare materials. Usually the materials contain educational content of high and dependable value. From these bureaus you may obtain posters, pamphlets, films, filmstrips, etc. A postcard will bring you a list of what each offers."

Scholastic Teacher includes no list of fifty labor organizations from which teachers can request materials. The magazine contains advertisements from the Modern Talking Picture Service, Inc., Association Films, Inc., the Bituminous Coal Institute; a full-page on "Education—Dewey Gets Things Done"; a full-page from General Motors; and, on page 27, a full page ad from the National Association of Manufacturers in which Joe Rosato, high school student of Hudson, Ohio, is featured asking, "Are industry's profits too high?" (The advertisement explains they're not.)

Two governmental labor references are included in the entire issue—the International Labor Office and the U. S. Department of Labor in Washington, D. C. A single labor group, the American Federation of Teachers, is listed under "Join Now!" in the *Scholastic's* "Where to Find It . . . From A to Z."

So much for the NAM's campaign to blanket American community life with its materials.

WHAT TEACHERS CAN DO

First of all, progressive teachers in many instances have found that school boards, with little or no representation from the organized labor movement

(this is a fault which labor itself should correct), have not been too favorable to the inclusion of materials from the labor movement and to a study of the labor movement. In spite of this situation, there is a lot that the individual teacher can do to correct this one-sided presentation of American life.

The school library obviously ought to include the weekly national *CIO News* and the monthly CIO *Economic Outlook,* as well as the monthly AFL *American Federationist* and the AFL economic analysis, *Labor's Monthly Survey.* These can be secured from the national offices of those labor organizations. (Congress of Industrial Organizations, 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.; American Federation of Labor, 901 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.)

The 1948 *Directory of Labor Unions* can be secured from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. for twenty cents. Teachers can easily send a penny postcard to all unions listed in the *Directory* requisitioning materials on labor for use with students in their classes.

The one standard textbook that has been prepared for this field is *Labor in America,* by Mark Starr and Harold U. Faulkner. A new pamphlet, "A Unit of Study for American History Students," has just been published by the Minneapolis Public Schools. This was prepared under the direction of Dr. Walter A. Anderson and is a fine example of the kind of thing that every American school system ought to do. Copies of this pamphlet may be secured from Herbert B. Bruner, Superintendent of Schools, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

The CIO Department of Education and Research maintains a monthly mailing list for teachers interested in receiving pamphlet materials. The AFL Workers Education Bureau, 1440 Broadway, New York, N. Y. provides a similar service for teachers.

The CIO also maintains a Film Library and has prepared a list of films on labor which will be sent free to teachers upon request. The CIO Film Division has prepared a list of sound filmstrips which are available for purchase or rental.

A few school systems have done an outstanding job in preparing course units and other materials on organized labor. However, no school system to my knowledge is making full use of the dramatic sound movies on the labor movement which are available. In the teaching of labor history, the United Automobile Workers' 16mm film UNITED ACTION FOR VICTORY, the sound filmstrip of the United Cap, Hat and Millinery Workers, GOOD MEN AND TRUE, and the American Federation of Teachers' sound filmstrip LABOR'S CHALLENGE would be extremely provocative for high school students.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS

(1) Get CIO's Economic Outlook, December, 1947, entitled "Three Ways of Measuring Profits" which stresses measuring profits as a return on investment; compare it with the NAM pamphlet "Who Profits from Profits" which emphasizes that profits are less than seven cents out of every sales dollar.

(2) Take some of the big business advertisements which emphasize that the profit on a pound of meat is somewhat less than half a cent a pound and compare them with the return on investment to Armour, Cudahy, Wilson, and Swift which in some cases is running as high as 20 percent.

Write to the United Packinghouse Workers, CIO, 205 West Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois, for their publication *The Meat of It* in which they analyze this problem as it applies to the meat packing industry.

(3) Take the new pamphlet "Industry's Law Against the People," published by the United Electrical Workers, CIO, and the NAM pamphlet "That New Labor Law," published in the same format. Have your students analyze both pamphlets.

Or study some of the problems which have come up since the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act:

(1) The use of union funds for political action: The case involving Philip Murray, President of the CIO, in which the CIO challenged the constitutionality of the Taft-Hartley Act's ban on using funds from union treasuries to support candidates endorsed by labor unions. The court found this section of the law unconstitutional as it applied to union newspapers' publicizing the support of candidates.

(2) Influencing of employees by employer: The old Wagner Act provided that an employer could not "advise" his employees on how to vote in a union election. In a recent decision under the new Taft-Hartley Act, the National Labor Relations Board (the government agency which administers the Act) found it to be legal for an employer to force his employees to listen to him speak on company time on the reasons why the men in the shop should vote against the union that was attempting to organize them.

(3) Voting procedures: A new decision of the NLRB now changes voting procedures so that a worker who goes on strike does not vote in an election held by the NLRB and the person hired to replace him does vote.

(4) Union shop authorizations. ("Union shop" means that all workers in a plant must join the union within a specified time *after* being hired.) Under the Taft-Hartley Act, before a union can bargain with management for a union shop, an NLRB election must be held to determine whether or not the workers want a union shop. If more than half the workers in the plant (not half of those who vote in the election) choose a union shop, the union leadership can then bargain with management to concede a union shop.

Writers of the Act maintained that union leaders wanted the union shop but that the workers they represented did not. The records of the NLRB show how wrong the Act's authors were. In the recent vote in the Ford plant (July, 1948), out of 98,989 workers eligible to vote, 88,943 voted for the union shop; 1,204 voted against the union shop. In fact, 98 percent of all union shop elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board have been won by the unions. The following table gives details of the elections on union shop authorizations during May, June, and July of 1948.

One of the best analyses of the Taft-Hartley Act is an article by Gerhard P. van Arkel entitled "The Taft-Hartley Act," which appeared in *Social Action,* publication of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches.

The best single text for students and teachers on how unions work is Leo Huberman's book, *The Truth About Unions.* This book explains the functioning of a local union and its relations to the "international" union, the city, state, and national bodies. It traces the background of the growth of "craft" unionism and "industrial" unionism and has some background on the development of the railroad unions. This book should be in every high school library in America.

Perhaps one of the most important things that teachers could do would be to acquaint students with the actual day-by-day functioning of the local unions in the shop. Unfortunately we live in a world where my daughter Judy, in fifth grade, already knows what a millionaire is but has never heard of a shop steward.

Today, of course, most unions are developing educational programs and political action programs, are strengthening their work in the community and are trying to break down discrimination against minority groups.

The CIO Community Services Committee, 1776 Broadway, New York, N. Y., can furnish teachers with materials on its work. The CIO Political Action Committee, 728 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., and the AFL League for Political Education, 1525 H Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., publish pamphlets and posters on that phase of union activities.

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The CIO Department of Education and Research has available a 48-page picture story book, *"Joe Worker and the Story of Labor;"* a new turnover-talk entitled *"For Fair Practices,"* which sells for $10; and a new 40" x 60" two-color wall map, "To Secure These Rights," which is based on the Report of the President's Civil Rights Committee. The wall map, which summarizes the four-point program of the Report, sells for $1.

Teachers should encourage students to become acquainted with the unions in their own localities and to attend union meetings. Speakers from these local unions should be invited to the public schools for assembly programs and for class discussions.

It is important for teachers to recognize that the "paper" approach to the labor movement is not sufficient for building a basic understanding of it. In every way possible teachers themselves should become part of the American labor movement. Progressive administrators will encourage union people in further participation in school problems.

American young people who have the chance to study and understand the labor movement will not be misled so easily by anti-labor newspapers and prejudiced radio commentators. They will understand better the great contribution which trade unions make to a democratic society and will not be easily persuaded into supporting legislation which attempts to restrict that contribution. They will understand clearly that in the long run those forces in American life which are attempting today to weaken and destroy the American labor movement eventually hope to destroy democracy itself.

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UNION SHOP AUTHORIZATION ELECTIONS

Conducted by the National Labor Relations Board

1948	Elections Held	Elections Decided in favor of Union	Percent of Elections in favor of Union	Number of Workers Who Voted	Number Voting for Union Shop	Percentage of Eligible Voters Who Voted
May	4,433	4,344	98%	332,180	305,132	88%
June	4,021	3,921	98%	365,710	338,835	85%
July	2,795	2,714	97%	348,822	332,397	83%

The shop steward's responsibility in the plant is to represent the men in handling grievances. It is quite possible to get from local union files descriptions of actual grievances. Students could study a contract between union and management and the way in which a grievance is handled under that contract; and finally they could determine the reasons why the decision in a specific grievance was made the way it was. It is also possible for students to act out the handling of the grievance.

Until recently two aspects of union activities determined the strength of the union: its ability to handle efficiently the grievance in the shop and its ability to negotiate a good contract with management.

INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS FOR INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS EDUCATION

by JOHN W. HANSON

In this article are presented a number of pamphlets, books, and other materials dealing with the problem of labor-management relations. The teacher will find these useful in developing the instructional program in the direction of better understandng of the crucial problems of labor and industrial relations. The author is Instructor in the Social Studies, College of Education, University High School, University of Illinois.

Increasing recognition that the achievement of industrial democracy is one of the frontiers along which America must progress has posed serious problems for the classroom teacher. In part these have been problems of community pressure exercised by dominant or vocal groups, but more often they have been problems of securing instructional materials adequate to build democratic character capable of grappling with the problems which arise in this area. Certain organizations have, for a number of years, been active in furnishing teachers with materials on industrial relations. Notable among these has been the National Association of Manufacturers, which has annually spent vast sums on "publicity" which it has placed in teachers' hands. Unfortunately the general attitude reflected in much of this material has revealed extreme conservatism and a reluctance to advocate increased democratic participation in our industrial machine, and the nascent suggestions toward management-labor cooperation which the organization advanced under the exigencies of the recent war have not resulted in the preparation of suitable classroom materials.

INTRODUCING THE PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Fortunately, however, increased recognition of the urgency of achieving industrial democracy has brought forth some materials which the classroom teacher may find useful in an initial introduction of problems in this field. Outstanding among these has been the Public Affairs Pamphlet *Your Stake in Collective Bargaining* by Thomas R. Carskadon and S. T. Williamson (Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 117, Public Affairs Committee Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y., 32 pp, 20c). This pamphlet should provide an excellent introduction to current problems of industrial relations for the high school class. In addition to indicating the vital public concern in all cases of industrial disagreement and collective bargaining, the pamphlet explains the nature of bargaining, the function of labor unions in a democratic society, and the organization and operation of the union movement in modern America. Based in part on the report of the committee of the Twentieth Century Fund, it is both factual and well illustrated.

Teachers seeking less traditional approaches to problems of industrial democracy may find materials provided in less customary sources extremely valuable. Obviously much of the drive and initiative in introducing industrial democracy has come from those especially concerned with the working man, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations has been increasingly interested in presenting labor's interest to the public. Certain of its pamphlets, although designed partially for union consumption, offer adequate initial approaches to instruction in this vital area. One such pamphlet which might be used as an avenue for approaching the role of labor in American society is *Labor and Education* (Publicity Department, C. I. O., 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.) Published during the last year of the war, and cleverly illustrated, this pamphlet presents in challenging fashion the traditional imbalance existing in public schools on issues relating to labor and the national economy. It could well prove the type of kick-off material which courageous teachers will employ in order to invite students to examine the types of materials and attitudes toward labor which they have been educated to accept. Teachers in predominantly rural areas may similarly find Kermit Eby's *Letters to Dad* (C. I. O., Department of Education and Research, 718 Jackson Place N. W., Washington 6, D. C., 1946, 24 pp, 10c) worthy of their examination as a possible basis for helping those brought up in farm communities to understand the relatedness of their immediate problems with those of the factory worker. A still different approach might be achieved through Tage Lindbom's excellent pamphlet *Sweden's Labor Program* (League for Industrial Democracy Pamphlet Series, 112 E. 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y., 1948, 61 pp, 35c). Those feeling an approach to problems of industrial democracy in a nation in which personal emotional attachment is less apt to affect initial teaching, may find this factual account of the advances of the Swedish economy toward democracy an initial break in the wall of prejudice. Although illustrated and in attractive format, the pamphlet unfortunately lacks some of the vigor which might make it more attractive to high school students; and it is probably only among the more mature students that it will be found applicable.

THE HISTORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN DEMOCRACY

Many teachers will no doubt find their best weap-

on in breaking down erroneous ideas concerning the labor movement in tracing its development as a concomitant of America's growth. One of the most valuable pamphlets in tracing this history is *The Forward March of American Labor* by Theresa Wolfson and Joseph Glazer (League for Industrial Democracy, 112 E. 19th Street, New York 3, New York, 1945, 32 pp., 15c) Although originally written for trade union members, this pamphlet is appropriate for the high school audience. The presentation of the trials and achievements of the labor movement in perfecting American democracy is well handled, and the recognition of some of the defects of modern unions should prove the key to further student investigation. An entirely different type of presentation, and one especially suitable for the intermediate grades and the junior high school, is that of Nat Schachner and Jack Alderman in their "comic" book, *Joe Worker and the Story of Labor* (National Labor Service, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York, 5c in lots of 100). This is essentially the history of labor in America presented through one of the currently effective media of communication. The story is here presented as a series of "comic strips", each with an explanatory text, and the movement is carefully traced from Bacon's rebellion to the contributions of Labor in the Second World War. The constant emphasis on racial and ethnic equality, and the ultimate plea for a democratic way of life increase the value of the pamphlet. Teachers interested in this phase of the industrial problem may find two transcriptions produced during the war of supplementary value. The recording *Democracy in Industry* (Transcription No. 16 in Democracy, Our Way of Life, Institute of Oral and Visual Education, Washington, D. C.), presents in brief, compact form the story of American labor from the time of Benjamin Franklin, while *Samuel Gompers* (Lest We Forget These Great Americans, Series X, Institute for Democratic Education, 415 Lexington Avenue, New York City) gives dramatic shape to the life of one of our great democratic leaders.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND THE DEMOCRATIC WAY

As it has come to be recognized that the democratic way of life embodies full participation and is antithetical to the manipulation of any person or group for the ends of others, it has become clear that democracy implies fuller participation by labor in determination of policy on the industrial scene. Perhaps one of the clearest discussions of the importance of participation and of social and psychological aspects in employer-employee relationships is Thomas R. Carskadon's *Workers and Bosses are Human* (Public Affairs Pamphlets 76, Public Affairs Committee Inc., 22 E. 38th Street, New York 16, New York, 32 pp. 20c). In addition to presenting the social and psychological aspects of labor-management relations, Carskadon indicates plausible avenues of future development in this area. Secondary school teachers should find this pamphlet extremely valuable in teaching the dynamics of labor-management relations. One of the most promising extensions of this principle, joint planning by labor and management, is also a topic well deserving of study. A well-documented presentation of potentialities along this line, abundantly illustrated by examples of achievement during the recent war, is the C. I. O. pamphlet *Should Labor Have a Direct Share in Management?* (C. I. O., Department of Education and Research, 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., 1946). In the words of the pamphlet, "this is not to be an argument for or against a theory. It will present facts and experiences in the types of union-management cooperation which have occurred in the past, the methods which were used to accomplish results, and the kinds of management problems which could be handled jointly." The material is exceptionally well suited to the final years of the secondary school. One of the best general treatments of the problem of labor and industrial relations for the high school student is *The American Story of Industrial and Labor Relations,* published by the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions, the Williams Press, Albany, New York, 1948.

Among the more promising developments on the industrial scene in recent years has been the substitution of voluntary democratic discussion for force in achieving and interpreting union-management agreements. As a valuable area of achievement in the democratic scheme, this is a problem well suited to public high schools. Teachers interested in either the straight factual approach to these problems or in employing sociodramatic techniques may find valuable material for teaching the role of democratic conciliation in W. Ellison Chalmers' pamphlet *The Conciliation Process* (Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, 1948, 17 pp, 5c). Concentrating especially on the role of the conciliator and the personal qualties this role requires, Chalmers emphasizes the desirable types of group process at the conference table. Specific material on the democratic solution of grievance problems in industry is presented in the pamphlet of William E. Simkin and Van Dusen Kennedy entitled *Arbitration of Grievances* (Bulletin No. 82, U. S. Department of Labor, Division of Labor Standards, 1948). The significant implication of these pamphlets in the development of democratic procedures should be of great value in secondary school instruction.

THE ROLE OF LABOR IN EXTENDING THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE

Current and recent emphasis in popular publication upon "undemocratic" leadership or "excessive power" in the labor movement has done much to create the impression that there is something in or-

ganized labor which is intrinsically inimicable to the democratic way of life. Although such an impression must be attacked upon many fronts, perhaps one of the most effective ways of demonstrating the potentialities of the labor movement is through recognizing the direct attack organized labor has made upon the problems confronting America. Although labor has moved forward on many fronts, one of the outstanding achievements of organized labor in recent years has been in furthering the cause of fair employment practices.

Numerous case studies of the relation of organized labor to the extension of the democratic ideal of racial and religious equality might be used to reveal the interrelation of industrial democracy and the struggle for civil rights; and such studies could do much to indicate the potentialities, realized and unrealized, of American Labor. Among the most outstanding pamphlets on the role of labor in combatting anti-democratic practices is *Equality for All* (Publication No. 8, Pilot, Education and Publicity Department, National Martime Union of America, C. I. O., 346 W. 17th Street, New York 11, New York). This provocative, illustrated pamphlet is designed to show how the N. M. U. had its roots embedded in the anti-discrimination fight, and is designed to give seamen the facts and the know-how to fight discrimination and intolerance. As the material is directed at the working seaman aboard ship, the approach is of a fresh and challenging nature which should actively engage the interest of high school students who are generally surfeited with material directed to them "as students". This pamphlet might well be supplemented by the illustrated *UAW-CIO Outlaws Discrimination* (Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department, UAW-CIO, 5701 Second Blvd., Detroit 2, Michigan), or the valuable articles on the role of the Jew in American labor and industry contained in *The A. F. of L. Fights Bigotry* (Jewish Labor Committee, 175 E. Broadway, New York 2, New York).

No matter what the approach of the progressive teacher in educating to meet the various problems of industrial democracy, he should find a useful guide in the quarterly bibliographical publication *Labor Education Guide* (American Labor Education Service, 1776 Broadway, New York 19, New York, $1.00 per year). Most annotations in the publication indicate those materials which will be of interest to the lay reader. In addition to materials exclusively pertinent to labor unions, it contains references to outstanding materials devoted to strengthening America. A section entitled "For Ear and Eye", moreover, lists significant films, filmstrips, and recordings which deal not only with labor but with related problems of democracy. This publication should do much to help the busy teacher remain abreast of new materials pertinent to the vital industrial problems with which he wishes to deal. Those teachers wishing additional reading material for their own preparation should, finally, find the following recent publications to be extremely valuable: Twentieth Century Fund, *How Collective Bargaining Works,* New York, 1942, $4.00. Golden, Clinton and Ruthenburg, Harold J, *The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy,* Harper and Bros., 1942, $3.00. Seidman, Joel, *Union Rights and Union Duties,* Harcourt Brace, 1943, $2.50.

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that help with social studies

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THE VIKING PRESS 18 E. 48th St., New York 17

Book Review

***Or Forfeit Freedom*, by Robert Wood Johnson, with line decorations by Bernice Jamieson, Double Day and Company, New York, 1947. $2.50, xi and 271 pp. pp.**

Robert Wood Johnson, as this title, *Or Forfeit Freedom,* suggests, writes with deep concern. This concern is held to the fore throughout. It is to *"get the system of private enterprise going, and get it going now."* (p. 5, author's italics) If we fail in this task (or, better, if business men fail), freedom will be at an end.

Noting this emphasis, one might conclude that here is an effort to set forth the glories of a system of *free* enterprise. This is not the case. Mr. Johnson rejects free enterprise as a "lawless, merciless system." He equally rejects a system in which enterprise is limited to a government that owns and plans. He resognizes that "certain forms of property must be reserved to the state," that "most businessmen accept govenmental participation and count heavily upon it," and that *planning* both by government and business is a necessary (indeed, an inescapable) act. (see Chapter 7) What he seeks is an opportunity for *private* enterprise, for the *private* individual to enter business and, within the limits set by the necessary acts of government and by his acceptance of social responsibility, be able to "hope to make a profit from it."

The author has no patience with those in the world of business who, having "kept their heads well buried in sand throughout the previous decades," laid down the conditions which made it necessary for the New Deal to come "to bat with a program that was dedicated to the forgotten man." (p. 118) Nor has he patience with professional labor management where it "is as impersonal and as lacking in democratic control as that of big business." (p. 203) His is a plea for the restoration of dignity in the field of work by the creation (1) of constructive, creative leadership on the part of management and (2) of the chance on the part of the worker to attain a sense of dignity through the responsible pursuit of his job under conditions which he may help to improve.

This is no simple task, yet Mr. Johnson steps out boldly to conquer it. And he takes some quite specific steps. He wants the worker to be thought of in human terms, not as a mere economic unit. He thinks the worker needs to see the meaning of his specific tasks in the total flow of operations that advance production. He believes in group craftmanship as a way of building a sense of being a part of a joint enterprise in which one may take pride. He sees value in training programs, in the plant, for both management and employee, recognizing the need for growth in insight as conditions of production undergo change. He is an advocate of "joint efficiency committees" that give the workers a share in the management of those problems which are distinctively matters of the "plant community." He recognizes that unions have developed in response to a need, that they are no temporary phenomenon on the social scene, and that "it behooves management to find ways of successfully working with them." (p. 206)

In a word, Mr. Johnson has located the psychological significance of personal participation in a common effort. It follows, therefore, that he is committed to an effort to make industry and business responsible participants in the local community and, through their internal organization, to create a community of workers and management. He is sure the road of decentralization, even within the large factory itself, is a road of personalization, as well as one of human and economic gain.

This appeal is made with so much of good sense, with so much of frankness in recognizing where business has been "arrogant and self-righteous," and with so much of human concern, that at least one reader was shocked to discover that one who has given so much of serious thought to the problem of getting "full service from our system of private enterprise" should look upon government with little more of understanding than do those whose interest is full profit rather than full service. The repeated thrusts against government, especially as a taxing monster that reduces initiative, which spoil a writing which is otherwise nicely tempered, are simply not convincing.

We do want to maintain initiative in this culture. We do want to remain a cooperating people, dedicated to the enrichment of the lives of all. Business has work to do in these terms. Mr. Johnson is right. We want democracy to come fully to life in all human relationships. It is the primary task of government to hasten this process, and to maintain it at high level. Where business fails as a partner in this common task it is proper, as the author has done, to ask it to search its own soul. Yet, if the searching is arduous, perhaps even fruitless, we are not helpless. It is here that government has work to do; and, in the doing, it need not become the authoritarian ogre Mr. Johnson fears. The very emphasis herein placed upon the cooperative act and upon the release of individuality are bulwarks against this result. It is ironic that a voice raised on behalf of the maintenance of freedom should waver at the point of its own larger promise.

H. Gordon Hullfish
Ohio State University

Correspondence

My dear Editor:

As it is a first principle of democracy and Progressive Education-thinking, that both sides of a question be heard, I trust you will print the following comment on "A-Bomb for the First Amendment," (*Progressive Education,* 25:50-52, February 1948).

1. The *smear* style of the article makes one wonder if its author be more than an irresponsible girl, dishonestly and deliberately malicious: v.g., *"booby trap* clause," *"Under this cover, enter* . . . the religious *lobbyists," "churches . . .luring* . . . state aid," "transportation *subsidy* for Catholic parochial school children," "church schools . . . *staked* by the public budget," the church-state *mesh as a menace* to democracy," ". . . *to surrender* public education. The *Roman Catholic Church* . . . *never yielded,"* "the *erosion* of state antagonism toward parochial school assistance," "The net result —*segregated* schools . . . focuses on *its target*: *democracy,"* "church *sallies* for funds," "the new *gift* of transportation funds."

2. Miss Passow is Totalitarian in her thinking, and undemocratic in denying the right of a minority group (Catholics) to educate their children in schools and in ways that have *not* been *proven* (*but only asserted* by the likes of her) to be incompatible with or harmful to our American "dynamic democracy."

3. Miss Passow gratuitously impugns the demonstrated ability of Catholic parochial schools to make of their students good citizens in a democracy. This charge is a deliberate and malicious distortion of fact—a lie. Where is there any evidence in our history, for instance in such a crisis, as the late War, that Catholic school graduates, especially those who entered our Armed Forces, had not been "fused into a dynamic democracy"?

4. Miss Passow gives the impression that increases in parochial school enrollments have been achieved by unfair means: 1) She seems ignorant of the differential birth rate in favor of non-contraception-practicing Catholics. 2) She seems ignorant that much less than 5% of all education funds are spent on transportation of pupils. 3) She ignores the fact that publicly elected and tax paid government school officials have a duty to help parents educate their children *the way their parents want their children educated,* when this way has not been *demonstrated* as incompatible with living in a democracy.

5. Miss Passow gives the impression that parochial schools are in competition with public schools. She seems ignorant of the fact that they were not set up to compete, and that they do not try to compete, but to *cooperate* with tax supported schools in giving a good general and civic as well as religious education—to 10% of *the public, our country's Catholic citizens.*

6. Miss Passow gives the impression that she believes that actually *parents do not have the first duty and the first right* to educate their children, *but* that *only the State* (government officials, the people's elected servants!) have this duty and right, right thinking, the tradition of our country, and a Supreme Court decision in the matter notwithstanding to the contrary. Hers is a Totalitarian State concept, not an American democratic state concept.

7. Miss Passow seems unaware that the State is only its citizens, and that Catholics have always been citizens, good citizens in peace, and in every war, especially the unusually large numbers of them who appeared in the combat areas of our late citizen conscript Army, so many in fact that the figures are not officially available.

Very truly yours,
Henry R. Burke, Ph. D.
600 North Paca Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland.

My dear Editor:

Dr. Burke, an angry man, has obtained many an impression, apparently from the spaces between the lines of my article. Yet his rebuttal seems directed at invisible men—not at facts. I shall not comment on his first criticism, since extreme language so often boomerangs. However, describing my research and conclusions as totalitarian is a bit too far-fetched to ignore.

For the record, these were my main premises:

1. Contrasted with the sluggish growth of public schools, private and parochial schools are gaining steadily in pupils, funds, and equipment.

2. Parachial school spokesmen enjoy a freedom of criticism and constitutional immunity from interference that public educators could not have—even if such immunity were desirable.

3. Church schools are acclerating their campaign for a generous share of public financing. (Dr. Burke may bristle at the term "lobbyist" but the stamp is indelible).

4. When one sect secures tax funds for its own use, others inevitably seek imitation. The resultant jealousies and quarrels obliterate the unity and mutual respect democracy requires.

5. If the American democracy is to grow and improve, it must avoid all such highways to religious controversy as the subsidy or partial support of church schools.

6. One of the fundamental tenets of American democracy is separation of church and state. Public financing of any portion of parochial education breaches the wall between church and state.

Nowhere in the article did I deny the right—sanctioned by the Supreme Court years ago—of Catholic parents to send their children to Catholic schools of their choice. However, this does not mean that we should sanction the support of these schools with public funds, nor that we should feel any responsibility for the welfare of such schools.

Nor did I seek to prove that Catholic schools are anti-democratic. Could anyone deny that they inherently segregate, or separate, a portion of the citizenry from the main body? And, that by so doing during the crucial formative years, such schools are inherently a divisive factor within a nation whose life demands unity? Not my limited experience but history has constantly rejected the state-church partnership as a menace to personal liberty and democratic government. Dr. Burke's contention that the war record of Catholics proves their devotion to democracy overlooks the fact that war service is only one facet of democratic self-discipline. Besides, it seeks to maneuver me into an anti-Catholic position which is totally unjustified.

The most cogent dismissal of Dr. Burke's case lies after all in the events of the past year: the McCollum decision; the fights over banning "The Nation" in New York, Boston, Newark and Rochester; and the test case of released time for church instruction pending in New York. Such symptoms of inter-faith conflict should warn us to fight hard against the disease itself.

Very truly yours,
Mrs. Shirley S. Passow
R. D. 2, Pontiac Road
North Collins, New York.

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Dear Sir,

I was surprised by the aritcle "A-Bomb for the First Amendment" Shirley S. Passow in your February publication. It is unlike Progressive Education to present one side of a controversial question which so affects the growth and strengthening of our democratic ideals.

Someone with the opposite idea (and there are some of the greatest progressives among them) should have been invited to write an article on "A Boon for the First Amendment".

Does this article reflect the thinking of the American Education Fellowship on the subject?

Yours truly,
Lorene Stollenwerk
831 Linox Avenue
Waukegen, Illinois.

Dear Miss Stollenwerk:

I have your letter in reference to the article by Shirley S. Passow. We shall be happy to carry an article dealing with the same issues discussed by Miss Passow. An article which attempts to criticize her article as such might better be dealt with as a letter. I have one such letter and shall run it in a Fall issue together with a reply by Miss Passow. The pages of PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION are open to a discussion of fundamental issues. Sometimes we attempt to run articles simultaneously on the same issues from different points of view. This, however, is not always the case.

With respect to your last question, I refer you to the statement of policy in the February issue in which this article appears. That statement represents the policy of the American Education Fellowship as of this writing. I believe there is nothing in there which concerns the question of religion and its relation to the schools.

The Editor

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